THE LIVES Of all the Princes of *Orange*; FROM *WILLIAM* the Great, Founder of the Common-wealth of the United Provinces.

Written in French by the Baron *Maurier*, in the Year 1682, and publiſhed at *Paris*, by Order of the French King.

To which is added the Life of His Preſent Majeſty King *William* the Third, from His Birth to His Landing in *England*.

By Mr. *Thomas Brown*.

Together with all the Princes Heads taken from Original Draughts.

Chara Deo Soboles. Virgil.

LONDON:
Printed for *Thomas Bennet*, at the *Half-Moon* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1693.

To his Honoured Friend

THOMAS CHAMBERS

OF

Hanworth, Esq;

SIR,

THough I know what a just aversion you have to the common strain of Dedications, yet with the usual assurance of an Authour of the Town, I have presumed to inscribe this History to you; so much too powerful was either my gratitude or my interest for the Complaisance I ought to have had for your Modesty. As I have received too many Obligations at your hands not to endeavour at some sort of a requital (if Addresses of this

Nature don't rather ſerve to increaſe the Debt than to acquit it) ſo I am too well acquainted with your Temper to offer at any thing that may look like Flattery. 'Tis I confeſs ſomewhat hard to be avoided upon theſe occaſions, and few Patrons quarrel with the poor Slaves, that make theſe Applications to them, for being too liberal of their Incenſe. But you need not fear any ſuch dreadful Entertainment from me: For contrary to the received Practiſe of all my Predeceſſors in Dedication, I intend not to ſay one Word in your Praiſe. Nay what is more ſurprizing, inſtead of being a Panegyriſt I here come publickly to reproach you, and that freedom as groſs as it looks, I know you will much ſooner excuſe than being praiſed.

I muſt therefore, (though it is much againſt my inclination to be the bearer of ill News) take the boldneſs to inform you that the World ſpeaks very ſtrange things of you, and ſuch as I am afraid you will find it a difficult matter to juſtifie without the affectation of being ſingular. It complains in the firſt place that in a time of Univerſal perfidiouſneſs and degeneracy, when the profeſſion of Friendſhip ſerves only to uſher in ſome piece of Treachery with a better grace, you have the opiniatreté *to be ſincere and undeſigning; that at an Age wherein others of your quality wholly abandon themſelves to their pleaſures, and generouſly neglect the purſuit of every thing beſides, you are ſo ill-natured as to uſe them only* en paſſant, *and cannot be brought to allow that Learning ſits ill upon a*

Gentleman; and laſtly, that amidſt ſo vaſt a Wealth, which uſes to have no other effect upon the reſt of Mankind, but either to make them neglect themſelves or deſpiſe others, you obſtinately continue to be unfaſhionably virtuous and condeſcending. I could tell you of ſeveral other objections of the like terrible importance that are frequently made againſt you, but as by theſe I have mention'd, you may ſufficiently judge what malicious Worlds thinks of you, I ſhall forbear to recount the reſt.

And now Sir, if I may be permitted to ſpeak ſomething of the following Tranſlation, I hope it is a Preſent not altogether unworthy of your Acceptance. There is this at leaſt to be ſaid in the behalf of it, which very few done out of the ſame Language can pretend to, and that is, the extream Scarcity as well as

Ex-

Excellence of the Original, there being (as far as I can inform my ſelf) not above four or five of them in England. *That very Book which my Friends and I made uſe of, (for you muſt give me leave here to inform you, that I have but a ſmall ſhare in this performance) and is now in the Poſſeſſion of a Learned Gentleman, had formerly paſſed the Hands of King* Charles *the Second; for he having received a mighty Character of it, was ſo impatient to read it over, that he could not ſtay to be furniſhed with one of them from* France, *but ſent to borrow this. As for the Author, though I ingenuouſly own that I am ſo uncharitable to his Country-men, as to believe they are for the general part as unfit to write Hiſtory as Dutch-men are to write Epic Poems (for Dutch Epic*

Poetry is down-right. Hiſtory diſguiſed with Metre, and French Hiſtory, as far as Fiction will make it ſo, is down-right Poetry,) yet he has happily eſcaped the Genius of the reſt of his Nation, who are ſo apt to run out into ſtrange Love-adventures, and other Chimera's even upon the moſt ſolemn occaſions, and, as appears by his Writings, was a Perſon of great Quality, Probity and Experience. If he has any fault 'tis this, that he is now and then too much upon the Narrative, but his Old-Age will excuſe that Infirmity. As for the reſt, he was a paſſionate Lover of Truth, and an Adorer of true Merit, where-ever he found it, whether in Catholic *or* Hugonot. *Difference in Religion not being able to prepoſſeſs him to any Man's diſadvantage, if he were otherwiſe valuable.*

able. In ſhort, he has diſcovered ſeveral important Matters of State, which, till he revealed them, were Myſteries to all the World, and I ſhall but do him juſtice when I ſay that he has joyned the unaffected Simplicity of Philip de Comines, *to the Veracity of the great* Thuanus. *The laſt Life has been done by a modern Hand; but though it does not come up to the former, ſeems to be written with great Impartiality and Freedom.*

I have thus given you a ſhort Account of the Author: It now remains that I ſhould conclude, which I find I muſt do in a different manner from moſt Dedications: For whereas they generally end with ſome devout Wiſhes for the Perſon, to whom they addreſs; you have been ſo eminently well treated both by Nature and Fortune, that I can

wiſh

wiſh you nothing but what you poſſeſs already. Therefore not altogether to depart from ſo ancient and received a Cuſtom, I will pray, but it ſhall be for my ſelf, who need it moſt. My firſt Petition is, that you would be pleaſed to forgive all the defects in the Tranſlation, I mean in my own Part of it; and my ſecond, that when your Candor has forgiven them, you would once more employ it, and pardorn this Preſumption in,

Sir,

Your moſt Humble, and

Moſt Obliged Servant,

T. Brown.

The

The TABLE.

A.

Duke of *Alva* ſent to ſucceed the Dutcheſs in the Government of the *Low Countreys*, page 19. Eſtabliſhes a Councel of Twelve, called the *Councel of Blood*, p. 20, 21.

The *Arch-Duke* Brother to the Emperour *Rodolphus*, choſen Governour of the *Netherlands*, p. 64.

Amſterdam ſurrendred to the *States*, p. 65.

Duke of *Anjou* invited into *Holland*, p. 73. Retires into *France*, and dies, p. 113.

Arminius and *Gomarus*, their Quarrel, p. 160, 161, *&c.*

B.

Barnevelt's Story, p. 156, 157, *&c.*

Bon beſieged, p. 240, 241. And taken, p. 242.

Marqueſs *de Belleſonds*, baniſhed by the *French King*, p. 251.

Battle of *Senef*, p. 256.

C.

Coligny (Gaſpor de) His Character, p. 3.

Coeverden loſt, p. 231, retaken, p. 232.

Coligny (Loviſe de) Her Life, p. 137.

Cambray beſieged and ſurrendred, p. 280.

Don

D.

DOn *John* of *Austria*, made Governour of the *Low Countreys*, p. 57. His Story, p. 58, 59, &c. Surprises the Castle of *Namur*, and *Charlemont*, p. 61. Defeats the Army of the *States* at *Gemblours*, p. 65. Dies of Grief, p. 67.

E.

COunts *Egmont* and *Horn* Executed, p. 20.
Q. *Elizabeth* loved to be thought handsome, p. 153, &c.

F.

F*Rench King* almost over-runs the United Provinces, p. 214.

G.

CArdinal *Granville*, his Character and Story, p. 14, 15, &c.
Name of *Gueux* (or Beggars) whence the Rise, p. 17.
Grave besieged, p. 265. and taken, p. 269.
Ghent taken, p. 291.

H.

H*Aerlem* taken by Famine, p. 42.
Henry Frederick born, p. 114. His Life, p. 177, &c. His Children, p. 178.

I.

INquisition declares those guilty of High-Treason, who had not opposed the Hereticks of the *Netherlands*, p. 19.
Ipres taken, p. 291. Count

L.

COunt *Lodovick*, &c. preſents a Petition to the *Governeſs* of the *Low Countreys*, againſt the Inquiſition, New Biſhops, *&c.* which at firſt is ſlighted, p. 17, 18, *&c.*

Lewis de Requeſens made Governour in the place of the *Duke of Alva*, p. 44.

Leyden relieved by breaking down the Dykes, p. 45, 46. and the Univerſity ſettled there, p. 47.

M.

M*Argaret* of *Auſtria*, made abſolute Governeſs of the *Low Countreys*, with Orders to Eſtabliſh the Spaniſh Inquiſition, and ſeveral new Biſhopricks in the *Netherlands*, p. 14.

Mons ſurpriſed, p. 32. and retaken by the *Spaniards*, p. 34.

Count *de la Mark*, takes the *Brill* with ſeveral other Cities, p. 36.

Middburg taken by the *Spaniards*, p. 44.

Maurier traduced at the *French* Court, *&c.* p. 120, 121, 122.

Maurice Prince of *Orange*, his Character, p. 125. raiſes the Siege of *Berghen ap Zoom*, p. 129 and 140. takes *Breda*, p. 130. and *Sluiſe*, p. 134. defeats Arch Duke *Albert*, p. 135. and the Lord *de Balancon*, p. 138. his Deſcription, p. 148, 149, 150, *&c.*

Maeſtricht beſieged by the *French*, p. 235. and taken, p. 236.

Mansfeld's Story and Character, p. 141, 142, *&c.*

Narſes

D.

DOn *John* of *Auſtria*, made Governour of the *Low Countreys*, p. 57. His Story, p. 58, 59, &c. Surpriſes the Caſtle of *Namur*, and *Charlemont*, p. 61. Defeats the Army of the *States* at *Gemblours*, p. 65. Dies of Grief, p. 67.

E.

COunts *Egmont* and *Horn* Executed, p. 20.
Q. *Elizabeth* loved to be thought handſome, p. 153, &c.

F.

F*Rench King* almoſt over-runs the United Provinces, p. 214.

G.

CArdinal *Granville*, his Character and Story, p. 14, 15, &c.
Name of *Gueux* (or Beggars) whence the Riſe, p. 17.
Grave beſieged, p. 265. and taken, p. 269.
Ghent taken, p. 291.

H.

H*Aerlem* taken by Famine, p. 42.
Henry Frederick born, p. 114. His Life, p. 177, &c. His Children, p. 178.

I.

INquiſition declares thoſe guilty of High-Treaſon, who had not oppoſed the Hereticks of the *Netherlands*, p. 19.
Ipres taken, p. 291. Count

L.

COunt *Lodovick*, &c. preſents a Petition to the *Governeſs* of the *Low Countreys*, againſt the Inquiſition, New Biſhops, *&c.* which at firſt is ſlighted, p. 17, 18, *&c.*

Lewis de Requeſens made Governour in the place of the *Duke of Alva*, p. 44.

Leyden relieved by breaking down the Dykes, p. 45, 46. and the Univerſity ſettled there, p. 47.

M.

M*Argaret* of *Auſtria*, made abſolute Governeſs of the *Low Countreys*, with Orders to Eſtabliſh the Spaniſh Inquiſition, and ſeveral new Biſhopricks in the *Netherlands*, p. 14.

Mons ſurpriſed, p. 32. and retaken by the *Spaniards*, p. 34.

Count *de la Mark*, takes the *Brill* with ſeveral other Cities, p. 36.

Middburg taken by the *Spaniards*, p. 44.

Maurier traduced at the *French* Court, *&c.* p. 120, 121, 122.

Maurice Prince of *Orange*, his Character, p. 125. raiſes the Siege of *Berghen ap Zoom*, p. 129 and 140. takes *Breda*, p. 130. and *Sluiſe*, p. 134. defeats Arch Duke *Albert*, p. 135. and the Lord *de Balancon*, p. 138. his Deſcription, p. 148, 149, 150, *&c.*

Maeſtricht beſieged by the *French*, p. 235. and taken, p. 236.

Mansfeld's Story and Character, p. 141, 142, *&c.*

Narſes

N.

Narſes (the Eunuch) his Story, p. 8.
Houſe of *Naſſau* their Genealogy, p. 9, 10, *&c.*
The *Netherlands* demanded to have all the *Spaniſh* Forces drawn out of the *Low Countreys*, p. 14.
Nimighen Treaty, p. 273.

O.

Ostend taken by the *Spaniards*, p. 134.
St. *Omers* ſurrendred to the *French*, p. 285.

P.

King *Philip* the Cauſe of the Diſorders in the *Low Countreys*, p. 8. His Deſcription, p 13, 14, *&c.*
Perpetual Edict concluded between the *States* and *Don John* of *Auſtria*, p. 60.
Prince of *Parma* made Governour of the *Low Countreys*, p. 68.
King *Philip* publiſhed a Preſcription againſt the Prince of *Orange*, p. 74.
Philip William of *Naſſau*, his Life, p. 115. taken by force out of the Colledge of *Lovaine* by King *Philip*, p. 115. ſhut up in a Caſtle in *Spain* at 13 Years Old, p. 116. releaſed, and ſent to bring the *Infanta Iſabella* into the *Low Countreys*, p. 117. marries *Eleanor* of *Bourbon*, p. 118.

S.

States General Conſent to a Toleration of both Religions, p. 66. Requeſt the Duke of

of *Anjou* and *Alemon* to be their Lord and Protector, p. 73.

T.

Treaty of Peace ſet on foot at *Breda*, p. 48. Treaty of Peace at *Ghent*, p. 50, 51, &c. Treaty of Peace at *Nimighen* concluded, p. 297.

V.

Marqueſs *Vitelli*, his Character and Epitaph, p. 28.
Valenciennes taken by the *French*, p. 279.

W.

William the Firſt of *Naſſau* his Birth, p. 3. the Favours ſhow'd him by *Charles* 5th, p. 4. made *Generaliſſimo* at 22 Years Old, p. 5. builds *Charlemont*, and *Philipville*, p. 5. ſupports the *Emperour* at the Reſignation of his Empire, and is recommended by him to the King of *Spain*, p. 6. his Deſcription, p. 12. Retires into *Germany*, p. 19. Raiſes an Army there, which is defeated near the River *Ems*, p. 24. Raiſes another of Twenty Four Thouſand *German* Horſe and Foot, p. 25. which refuſing to follow him into *France* to aſſiſt the *Hugonots*, he disbands, p. 27. Enters the Low Countreys with a great Army, and is received into *Ruremond*, *Malines*, &c. p. 33. Acknowledg'd Governour of *Holland*, *Zealand*, &c. by the *States*, p. 38. baniſhes the *Romiſh* Ceremonies

remonies out of the Church, p. 39. received into *Bruſſels* in great Triumph, p. 62. lays the Common-Wealth of the *United Provinces*, p. 68. publiſhes his Apology againſt King *Philip*'s Preſcription, p. 75, 76, 77, *&c.* Marries *Loviſe* de *Coligny*, p. 113. killed at *Delft*, p. 115. his Funeral, p. 119.

William Count *de Buren*, Eldeſt Son to Prince *William*, ſeized at the Colledge of *Lovain*, and carried Priſoner to *Spain*, p. 23.

William Henry of *Naſſau*, his Birth, p. 211. deprived of the Offices belonging to his Family, p. 212. choſe General of the Army, p. 215. and reſtored to all the other Commands belonging to him, which *Cornelius de Witt* oppoſes, p. 220. Prince *William* takes *Naerden*, p. 237. falls ſick of the Small-pox, and recovers, p. 270. beſieges *Maeſtricht*, p. 275. and raiſes it, p. 277. Marries the Princeſs *Mary*, p. 288. Attacks, and almoſt Routs *Luxemburgh* near *Mons*, p. 298.

Cornelius de *Witt*, and his Brother killed, p. 224.

William the Second born, p. 203. beſieges *Amſterdam*, p. 206. dies of the Small-pox, 208.

THE

THE

Author's Preface.

THE Reader, *whoever he is, muſt not expect in theſe* Memoirs, *to find a gay, or rather an impertinent Diſcourſe, fill'd with* New Terms, *which ſome preſumptuous little* Authors, *who mind nothing but bare words, call* fine Language. *Theſe people are to underſtand that I was never bred at a* Colledge, *and that the* little Skill *I have in* Languages *I receiv'd from Maſters at home, or from common uſe in Converſation. I never read one ſingle Line of* Priſcian, *or of any other* Grammarian. *Their* Lexicons, *and their* Syntaxes, *which my Father was uſed to call,* The Plague of Youth, *are as much unknown to me as the* Iſle of Pines. *I never was able to comprehend what a* Gerund *or a* Supin *meant, and though perhaps I uſe them upon occaſion, I neither know how to define or*

deſcribe them. I have not without a great deal of pleaſure read the Quintus Curtius *of* Monſieur de Vaugelas, *whoſe ſolid Vertue, and extraordinary Sweetneſs, as well as his inviolable Fidelity to his Friends, I eſteem; although I was never able to edify much by his* Remarks *upon our Language. And, what is more than all this, having had the misfortune to debauch my own Natural Language, during my long abode in Forreign Countries, where I was bred; as alſo by my long ſtay at* Mayne, *where their Language is extreamly vitious; and thinking it not worth the while to ſpend money to no purpoſe at Court, and to feed my ſelf with Vain Expectations, my Reader ought not to be ſurpris'd if he meets in this Work ſome terms and manners of ſpeaking that have not receiv'd the Approbation of our* Modern Criticks, *who make no Scruple to condemn a good Book upon the account of one word which they have baniſhed out of converſation, or an Expreſſion which does not carry with it (to uſe the ſtile of theſe Foplings)* the delicacy of Language.

Therefore I humbly deſire theſe Gentlemen to let me alone, ſince I have been ſo ingenuous as to lay open my Infirmities before them; and by way of Requital, I here give them full poſſeſſion of the Eight Parts of Speech, all the Grammars, *and* all the Dictionaries, *with* all Remarks *and* Obſervations *whatſoever, upon Languages in the World, upon this condition,*

tion, that they'll leave things that are above their capacity to persons of better Judgment and Experience. For to deal plainly with them, It's a sad but a certain Truth, that these Coyners, and Admirers of New Words can attribute no other sort of merit to themselves, than what belongs to those Mechanicks that make good Tools, by the help of which excellent Statuaries form admirable Statues, and famous Architects erect Noble Structures.

For my own part, I have a great Respect for those people that can Speak regularly and justly upon all Occasions, but I cannot endure those Vain-glorious Fops, those Would-be-Criticks, who in the Ruels of Ladies use to damn the best Compositions in the World, and all for the sake of one Term or Phrase that has the ill luck to displease them. I would not have so wild an Inference drawn from this, as if I were of Opinion that 'tis impossible for a man to write solidly and politely at the same time. No, I have more Sense than that comes to, and preserve as great a Veneration for those Illustrious Persons that possess both these Talents, as I have an Aversion and Contempt for those puny Grammarians that are made up of nothing but Pride and Insolence.

'Tis not for such unthinking Insects as these to judge of an History. If I had the ambition to desire fit and competent Judges for these Memoirs, I should wish that the Fa-

mous Preſident de Thou, *and thoſe celebrated Brothers the* Meſſieurs du Puy, *and that the Preſident* Ardier *might come again into the World. The lattter of theſe was a long time* Secretary of State *under Mr.* d' Herbaut, *his Unkle. His Diſpatches were ſo Natural, but at the ſame time ſo ſtrong and Maſculine, as were all the publick Declarations that paſs'd under his hands; That Mr.* Conrart, *a man generally eſteem'd in the World, and who knew the Value of Things extreamly well, has told me ſeveral times, more than Thirty Years ago,* That the Kings of *France* ceaſed to ſpeak with a Majeſty befitting their Empire, ever ſince they did not explain themſelves by the Pen of Mr. *Ardrier. I ſhall forbear to ſpeak more largely of this Illuſtrious Man, who was a ſingular Friend of mine, and to whom I have Infinite Obligations, till I meet with a fitter Opportunity.*

The greateſt part of thoſe Hiſtories that have appeared in the World, are properly ſpeaking, nothing elſe but ſo many Panegyricks *compoſed by Intereſſed Hands, that elevate* Vice *and* Iniquity to the Heavens. *Of this Character are the Works of* Paterculus *and* Machiavel, *who propoſe* Tiberius, *and* Cæſar Borgia, *that in* True Hiſtory *were downright* Monſters, *as* Examples fit to be imitated. *Directly oppoſite to theſe* Retailers of Unjuſt Commendations *are a ſort of people that deal in* Paſquils, *and yet have the Impudence*

to ſtile themſelves Hiſtorians. *Theſe mercenary, or partial creatures, make no conſcience to* attack Vertue it ſelf, *and have frequently repreſented the moſt excellent Princes that ever wore a Crown, as* Tyrants and Wicked Perſons: *Witneſs ſo many* Hiſtories, *and ſo many Printed* Satyrs *of the* Huguenots *upon* Catholick Princes, *and among the reſt upon* Francis *of* Lorrain, *Duke of* Guiſe, *for no other Reaſon but becauſe that excellent General made War againſt them. Witneſs ſo many Cart-loads of* ſcurrilous Invectives *compoſed by* Monks, *and other* Superſtitious Catholicks *againſt* Queen Elizabeth *of* England, *the moſt glorious Princeſs that ever wielded a* Scepter. *For to theſe hot-headed paſſionate* Bigots *'tis ſufficient for you to be of a Party, or of a Religion contrary to theirs, to be defamed, condemned, and purſued with a* Thouſand Calumnies.

Theſe ridiculous Monſters *vainly endeavour to render Queen* Elizabeth *odious and execrable to all poſterity, for putting* Mary *Queen of* Scots *to Death, although 'tis a notorious* Truth, *that the above-mentioned Unhappy Princeſs was of ſo unquiet and turbulent a Spirit, that ſhe could not forbear to embarras her ſelf with Q.* Elizabeth, *who was much more powerful than her ſelf; and by that Ill-adviſed* Conduct *was the occaſion of her own* Ruine. *The Truth of this Aſſertion cannot be called in queſtion, as being confirmed by the Teſtimony*

of Monſieur de Caſtelnau, *Intendant of her Affairs in* France, *and Ambaſſador in* England, *who tells us in his* Memoirs, *that ſhe ow'd this Ill-management to the* Cardinal *of* Lorrain, *his Uncle. Nay, after ſhe was Priſoner in* England, *ſhe continued to keep a correſpondence with the Male-content party there, who endeavour'd to diſturb the Repoſe of that Kingdom, ſo far as to attempt the Life of* Q. Elizabeth. *Which obliged her to bring her to a Tryal where ſhe was condemned by more than* Forty Judges, *the greateſt part of them conſiſting of* Earls, Barons, Peers of England, Officers of the Crown *and* Members of Parliament. *Notwithſtanding all this, her* Sentence was for a long time reſpited, *and* Q. Elizabeth *had never dared to execute her, if ſhe had not been perſuaded to it by* France. *For I have heard my Father ſay,* That both Friends and Enemies concurred, out of different Views, and Intereſts, to bring that unfortunate Princeſs to the Block. *Monſieur* de Bellievre, *who was ſent* Envoy Extraordinary *into* England, *in appearance to ſolicit for the* Life *of this poor* Queen; *for which purpoſe he carried large Inſtructions with him, told him,* That he had quite contrary Orders under *Henry* the Third's Hand, to perſwade Q. *Elizabeth* to behead this Common Enemy both of their Perſons and Kingdoms. *All which the* King *was forced to do, out of an apprehenſion, that if* Mary Stuart, *who was not only Heir to* Q. Elizabeth

zabeth, *but much younger than ſhe, ſhould come to ſucceed her; the* Guiſes, *her Relations, who Govern'd her abſolutely, and who by their great Number of Creatures made his Crown ſhake already at home, being ſupported by the united power of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *would in the concluſion make a ſecond* Childeric *of him. For thoſe of the* League *had the Inſolence to change the King's Device, which was* Manet ultima Cœlo, *into* Manet ultima Clauſtro. *The King's meaning was,* That after he had enjoy'd upon Earth the Crowns of *France* and *Poland*, he hoped he ſhould wear a Third in Heaven. *But theſe of the* League *publickly declared,* That they would beſtow a Third Crown upon him in a Cloyſter. *And as a Learned Gentleman of that Age had enlarged upon the King's Device in this fine* Hexameter,

Qui dedit ante duas, triplicem dabit ille Coronam

The Fury of the Leaguers *thus paraphraſed it in the following Diſtick.*

Qui dedit ante duas, unam abſtulit, altera nutat,
Tertia tonſoris eſt facienda manu.

Beſides this, in a private Cabal held by thoſe of that party, where this Execrable Deſign was propoſed, it hapning that one in the Company,

who was more moderate than the reſt, demanded, Who ſhould be the Man that durſt put the King in a Cloyſter? *The Cardinal of* Guiſe, *who was of a hot fiery conſtitution, after he had reproached him for his faint heartedneſs, roundly told him,* That were the King in his hands, he would ſet his head between his knees, and immediately make him a Monk's Crown with the point of a Poiniard. *An Anſwer that coſt him very dear; for after* Henry III *had caus'd* Monſieur de Guiſe, *his Brother, to be executed, and was conſidering with himſelf what he ſhould do with the* Cardinal, *whom he had order'd to be apprehended:* Col. Alphonſo d' Ornano, *Father to the Mareſchal of that Name, having put him in mind of theſe cruel words, and remonſtrated to him,* That the living Brother was infinitely more dangerous than he that was now dead, had ever been; *the King ſwore he ſhould dye, and immediately ſent* Monſieur de Gaaſt, *Captain of the Guards, with poſitive Orders to diſpatch him.*

This ſecret Solicitation of Henry III. *againſt* Mary Stuart, *his own Siſter in Law, Queen of* Scotland, *and Dowager of* France, *makes it appear, That to preſerve our ſelves we often ſacrifice our Allies and Relations, and even* Religion it ſelf *to Intereſt, and Reaſon of State. Witneſs what the aforeſaid Q.* Elizabeth *heretofore told my Father,* That ſhe held her Life by the Courteſie of King *Philip* II.

her

her Brother in Law, although he was the greateſt Enemy ſhe had. *Upon this conſideration ſhe kept his Picture in her Bed-chamber, and made him be looked upon by all the World as her Saviour. And in effect he hinder'd her Siſter* Mary *from putting her to death. For* Q. Mary, *Second Wife to* K. Philip, *being a great* Catholic, *and very infirm, had reaſon to fear that her Siſter* Elizabeth, *who was a Proteſtant, when ſhe came to ſucceed her, would baniſh the* Catholic Religion *out of* England, *as afterwards it happen'd, and therefore mightily preſt the King her Husband to cut off her head, ſhe being at that time Priſoner in the Tower of* London. *But* K. Philip *oppoſed the motion with all his power, fearing leſt* Mary Stuart, *Heir to* Q. Elizabeth, *who then was marry'd to* K. Francis II. *ſhould one day become Queen of* Great Britain, *by Right of Succeſſion and joyning it to* France, *as it would unqueſtionably happen if ſhe had any children, by the Union of ſo many Kingdoms, a formidable power would be erected, that would utterly ruin and confound his vaſt deſign of an Univerſal Monarchy.*

At this very juncture the Spaniards *make Religion truckle to Intereſt; and thoſe Grave Gentlemen who have ſo often in their Writings reproached us for our Alliances with Hereticks, and particularly with* Holland *and* Sweden, *in order to recommend themſelves with a better grace to the Court of* Rome, *at preſent look upon the* Hollanders *as the greateſt Support*

of

of their Monarchy, permitting them to preach publickly in their Cities; Nay, to shew what a consideration they have for these people, Admiral d'Ruyter, *a little before his death, got a great Number of* Hungarian Ministers *to be released out of the Gallys of* Naples, *whither the* Emperour *had sent them, at one word's speaking to the Marquis* de Los-Velez, *the* Vice-roy.

Thus any body may perceive, that 'tis Interest only that governs the World, and that a great Captain had reason to say, That Princes commanded the People, but that Interest commanded Princes: *Which is so palpable, so apparent a Truth, that the most sacred things among men, have been often devoted to this wicked principle, and the greatest part of* Crown'd Heads *observe the Rules of Justice and Religion no farther, than they find them consistent with their dearly beloved Interest.*

As for what remains, if any scrupulous person shall think fit to quarrel with my Memoirs *for comparing* William *Prince of* Orange *and Admiral* Colligny, *who were both Hereticks, and both Rebels, to the greatest* Heroes *of Antiquity, yet I would not have him conclude that I have the least leaning towards* Heresy *and* Rebellion, *to which I have an equal Aversion. My meaning is, That it is a Sign of as much, if not more Vertue, to make ones self a Prince of a private person; than to be one, and being weak,*

weak, to resist mighty powers; than to gain Battles, being born to a Sceptre, as Alexander *and* Gustavus Adolphus *were. Kings owe their Victories to the Valour of their Captains and Troops, and sometimes to the Winds, and to the Sun; that is, to meer Fortune. Thus* Cicero *speaking to* Cæsar, *tells him, That he acquired more glory in pardoning* Marcellus, *and restoring his Enemy to his Estate and Dignities, than if he had gained a great many Battels, because his Soldiers and Officers would attribute the principal honour of it to themselves: and for an undeniable Argument,* That the gaining of a Battle is owing to the Experience and Courage of the Soldery. *the Prince of* Conde, *who had as much personal Bravery as ever any man in the World had, after he had defeated at* Rocroy *the old disciplined Regiments of the* Low-Countries, *and those of the Empire at* Nordlingue. *durst not appear in* Guyenne *before the Count of* Harcourt, *who had but a small Body of old experienced Troops with him, altho the* Prince *had twice the Number of New raised men.*

Difference in Religion ought not to diminish our Esteem of any man. We have seen several good Catholicks *of very shallow Understandings; as for Instance, the Cardinal* de Pelleve, *who as he was once haranguing the States General, broke off abruptly, and made nothing on't, which gave occasion to the following Lines:*

Scig-

Seigneurs Etats, excuſez le bon-homme,
Il a laiſſé ſon Calepin à Rome.

Excuſe the man, and don't pronounce his doom,
Poor Soul! he left his Calepine *at* Rome.

On the other hand, we have ſeen ſome Huguenots; *as for Inſtance,* Monſieur de la Noue, *whom the moſt celebrated Writers have compared to the greateſt men of former Ages. As for my ſelf, I adore extraordinary Merit, where-ever I find it, be it in an* Heretic, *in a* Rebel; *nay, even in an* Enemy. *The Duke of* Leſſe, *Viceroy of* Naples, *has left an Eternal Monument of this Generous Maxim behind him, by erecting a magnificent Tomb in St.* Maries de la Nove, *at* Naples, *to* Peter *of* Navarr, *with this Inſcription:*

Petro Navarro Cantabro, ſolertiſſimo in expugnandis Urbibus duci, Conſalvus Ferdinandus Lueſſæ Princeps, Ludovici filius, Magni Conſalvi Nepos, quamvis Gallorum partes ſecutum, Pio Sepulchri munere honeſtavit, cum hoc habeat in ſe præclara virtus, ut etiàm in hoſte ſit admirabilis.

This Hero *honour'd Vertue in an Enemy, in a Rebel, and in a Deſerter; and not thinking it ſufficient to commend him in private, erected a Noble* Mauſoleum *to his Memory.*

Cæſar

Cæsar *was not less regarded at* Rome, *because he was an* Epicurean, *than if he had been of any other Sect of Philosophers, who held more favourable Sentiments of the Divinity and of his Providence; And in our days we more esteem the Poetry and History of* George Buchanan, *for all he was a notorious Heretic, than the flat insipid Verses, or jejune Histories of several good Catholic Authors. Generally speaking we follow the Opinion we suck'd in with our Milk; and as to matters of Religion, 'tis a plain case, that we implicitly embrace the Sentiments of the Doctors of our acquaintance, and believe upon the Faith of other people, without searching into the bottom of things. But altho it has been a man's misfortune to have evil parents that have educated him in a false Religion, yet this does by no means destroy his Moral and Heroic Vertues, which apparently discover themselves in an extraordinary Genius.*

Rebellion is full as detestable as Heresy, for 'tis a bare-faced revolting against our Soveraigns, who are the Images, or Representatives of God upon Earth. Nevertheless, one may say, in defence of William *Prince of* Orange, *That* Philip II. *occasion'd the defection of the* Low Countries, *by his contempt of them, and by violating the priviledges of those Provinces, which the Emperour* Charles V. *his Father always governed with Clemency and Mildness.*

And as for what respects Admiral Coligny, *whom I compare to the Prince of* Orange, *altho it has been frequently said by his Enemies,*

who

who were both numerous and powerful, That he ſerved himſelf of the pretence of the Reformed Religion, the better to cover his ambition: *And after them* Davila *has aſſerted as much in his Hiſtory; yet ſetting all prejudices aſide, tis certain he was firmly perſwaded of the truth of his belief, and that the principle Motive of his riſing up in Arms was to ſupport and defend it. His moſt familiar Acquaintance, who pryed diligently into his behaviour, never ſo much as queſtion'd it, and the ardent prayers he poured out at the moment of his death, as well as ſeveral Letters to his Confidents and Relations, which are the faithfulleſt Pictures of the Soul, do ſufficiently demonſtrate it.*

And here I cannot forbear to exclaim at the Maſſacres of St. Barthôlomew, *wherein abundance of good* Catholicks *were ſacrificed to the Revenge of their Enemies Thus it was generally condemn'd by all honeſt men both in* France *and elſewhere, except the authors of that barbarous butchery, and their dependants. A Latin Hiſtory lately* Printed *with the King's Privilege, ſpeaking of this bloody Execution, has theſe words,* Atra illa dies quam Sequana non abluat ſuis undis. *And* Monſieur Hardouin de Perefixe *Biſhop of* Rhodez *in his Hiſtory of* Henry *IV. as he mentions this Maſſacre, calls it* the moſt abominable Action that ever was, *and wiſhes, if it pleaſe God, that nothing like it may ever happen again. I don't pretend to injure the memory of King* Charles *IX. nor of the Queen his Mother, but only ſay that this Action has*

been

been univerſally deteſted without naming any names: However, if it were neceſſary to eſpouſe one party or other on this occaſion, in my opinion a good Frenchman *would do much better to intereſt himſelf for* Henry *our preſent King's Grandfather, who ran ſo great a risk of his Life, and who was ſo diſhonourably treated on this cruel day, than for* Charles *IX. who ſcandalouſly violated his promiſe.*

Upon this doleful Subject Henry *IV. thus explain'd himſelf very often, and my Father was a Witneſs of it, that the moſt ſenſible diſpleaſure he ever receiv'd in his whole Life, was that on this fatal day of St.* Bartholomew, eight hundred Gentlemen, all of them men of conſiderable Eſtates and Quality, were baſely Murdered for their affection to him. *Theſe were his very words, and he ſpoke them when he was King of* France, *at a certain time when ſome zealous Catholicks came to demand juſtice of him for certain Chronological Tables, which the* Huguenots *had printed at* Geneva *before their Pſalms, where was to be ſeen,* In the Year 1574 dyed *Charles* the Maſſacrer.

To Authorize this cruel Action, it muſt not be alledged that it was approved of at Rome, *where I have ſeen in the Pope's Chappel the Tragedy of St.* Bartholomew *repreſented, and the Admiral thrown out at the Window, with theſe words at the bottom,* Pontifex Colinii necem probat. *I have read theſe ſtrange words there ſome fifty years ago, not without a great regret, and a certain pious Biſhop told me he could never ſee them without aſtoniſhment.* To

To conclude, no one ought to be surpriz'd, that writing the Life of William *Prince of* Orange, *I have set down the substance of his Apology against the Prosecution of the K. of* Spain. *If it contains any severe passages on the memory of that Prince, I am not the first person that divulg'd them. This piece was printed in several Languages near a hundred years ago, and was sent by the Prince of* Orange *to the Emperour* Rodolphus, *and to several other Princes of* Europe, *amongst the rest to* Henry *III. accompanied with a long Letter which the K. received kindly, altho this Apology, which in truth is none of the gentlest, was against his own Brother in Law.*

This is all I have to say upon the subject of these Memoirs, *which I hope will be approv'd by all lovers of Truth, and Truth is the Mistress I have courted all my life time. The strong aversion I have to flattery and calumny have somewhat transported me against several Writers, that don't deserve the name of Historians, but only of scurrilous Authors, and little low fulsome panegyrists, who being led away by different passions, have endeavour'd to conceal the Truth, which I have taken pains to discover, which will appear by several Secrets of State, that I have laid open en passant, and which without question, will not be unwelcome to good men.*

I have nothing more to add, but that I compos'd these Memoirs to pass away some hours of a dull, melancholly solitude, to which I find my self reduced, having been never bred up to Hunting, or any other sports of the like nature, which diversions, if they don't make a country life happy, yet they serve at least to render it less tiresome and disagreable.

The

WILLIAM of NASSAU
Prince of Orange.
Founder of the Republique
of the United Provinces.

THE LIFE OF *WILLIAM* of *NASSAW*, Prince of *ORANGE*, Founder of the Commonwealth of the United Provinces in the *Netherlands*.

NO Age of all Antiquity has produc'd a more extraordinary Man than *William* of *Naſſau*, Prince of *Orange*. Examine all the Heroes of *Plutarch*, and all thoſe great Men who lived ſince that admirable Hiſtorian; and 'twill be difficult to find any upon Record, who poſſeſs'd more eminently all thoſe Virtues and good Qualities that *enter* into the Compoſition of a brave Man.

The Victories and Conquests of *Alexander* and *Cæsar* do not so much deserve our admiration. The first was Master of all *Greece*, and at the Head of a War-like and Well-disciplin'd Army. The other absolutely Commanded half the *Roman* Legions, who governed all the World. With these great forces and advantages they entred upon the Stage, made their first Victories the fore-runners to the *next*, pursued their blow, and one overthrew the Empire of the *Persians*, and the other the *Roman* Commonwealth. But Prince *William* has equall'd the Glory of these great Conquerors, by attaquing the formidable Power of King *Philip* of *Spain* without any Army or Forces, and by maintaining himself many years against him. His Courage was always greater than his Misfortunes; and when all the World thought him ruin'd, and he was driven out of the *Netherlands*, he entred 'em again immediately at the Head of a new Army, and by his great Conduct laid the foundations of a Commonwealth, that covers the Ocean with its Fleets, and overmatches all *Europe* in the number and strength of its Naval Forces. His Enemies had no other way to ruin him, but by a base Treachery, which he might have avoided, if he had reposed less confidence in the love of the People, who served him instead of Guards, and considered him as the Father and Tutelar God of their Country.

After having reflected on all the Illustrious Persons that have lived before him, I can meet

meet with no one that equall'd his profound Wiſdom, heroick Courage and Conſtancy under all his Adverſities, but *Gaſpar de Coligny*, Lord of *Chaſtillon*, Admiral of *France*; ſo great a Man, that *D'Avila* his Enemy was forc'd to own that he was more talk'd of in *Europe* than the King of *France* himſelf. This Admiral, after the loſs of four Battles, was ſo far from being broken or ruin'd, and continued ſtill ſo powerfull, that his Enemies were oblig'd to grant him a Peace; and had it not been for a Treachery, whoſe Memory will be eternally abhorr'd by all good Men, he might have ended his days in Peace, and done great ſervice to his Country by the Conqueſt of the *Low-Countries*; which he propos'd at ſo favourable a conjuncture, that *we* might eaſily have made *our ſelves* maſters of 'em. But the ill maxims of thoſe Divines, who would conform all Religion to the humours and paſſions of Princes, and the Doctrine, That no Faith ought to be kept with Rebels and Hereticks; and that 'tis lawfull to do a ſmall evil to bring about a greater good, added to the powerfull Motive of Revenge; prevail'd over all the Ties of Honour and Faith, which ought always to be ſacred and inviolable.

William of *Naſſaw*, Prince of *Orange*, was Born in the Year 1533, at the Caſtle of *Dillembourgh*, in the County of *Naſſaw*. He was Nine years Page of Honour to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, who continually admired his extraordinary good ſenſe and modeſty.

This great Prince took delight to communicate his moſt important affairs to him, and inſtruct him, and has often declar'd to thoſe he was moſt familiar with, That this young Prince furniſh'd him with Expedients and Counſels that ſurpriz'd him, and which otherwiſe he had never thought of. When he gave private Audience to Foreign Princes and Miniſters, and Prince *William* was about to retire with the reſt of the Company, he uſually bid him ſtay.

All the World was ſurpriz'd to ſee this great and wiſe Monarch eſteem him above all thoſe that were about him, and truſt him at ſo tender an Age with all the ſecrets of his Empire, the management of Affairs, and the weightieſt Negotiations. He was ſcarce Twenty years old when *Charles* the Fifth choſe him out among all the great Lords of his Court, to carry the Imperial Crown which he reſign'd to his Brother *Ferdinand*. An Office which he diſcharged with much unwillingneſs; aſſuring his good Maſter, That 'twas an unwelcome Task he had impoſed on him of carrying that Crown to another, which his Uncle *Henry* Count of *Naſſaw* had put upon his Head.

And for a proof that *Charles* the Fifth ſet no leſs a value on his Courage than his Prudence; when *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, was obliged by his own private affairs to be abſent ſome time from the *Netherlands*, tho' the Prince was but 22 years old, and was in *Breda* at that time; *Charles* the Fifth

of

of his own accord, againſt the advice of all his Counſel, made him Generaliſſimo, to the prejudice of ſo many experienc'd Captains, and among the reſt of Count *Egmont*, who was Twelve years older, at a time when he had to deal with two great Generals Mounſieur *de Nevers*, and the Admiral of *France*. But the Prince was ſo far from receiving any blow that Campagn, that he built *Charlemont* and *Philipville* in ſight of the *French* Armies.

I do not pretend to relate all the Actions of the Prince of *Orange*, which would require a Volume, and which ſo many Hiſtorians have done in ſeveral Languages. 'Twould be a ſtrange itch of writing, and a manifeſt robbery to publiſh what may be met with in particular Books. My deſign is only to make ſome Reflections and Obſervations on this great Prince, and acquaint the World with ſome particulars of his Life, which I learn'd from my Father and other eminent Men of that Age. But in order to make my Hiſtory more intelligible and agreeable to thoſe who have not read his Life, I was engaged, contrary to my former intentions, by an Illuſtrious Perſon (to whom I have too many Obligations to refuſe him any thing) to make a ſhort Abridgment of his Life, enough to give a general Idea of him, as Geographers preſent us at one view all the Old and New World in a little Map; not doubting but a Narrow Portraicture of ſo extraordinary a Man will cauſe theſe Particulars I know of

his Life to be read with greater pleasure, and besides will show to all the World upon what foundations this Prince has erected the powerfull Commonwealth of the *United Provinces*.

Besides the esteem the Emperour had for his Vertue, there was no Man at his Court whom he lov'd so tenderly as the Prince of *Orange*. Which he made appear to the last moment of his Administration. For at the famous Assembly at *Brussels*, A. D. 1555, when the Emperour resign'd all his Kingdoms to his Son *Philip*, 'twas remarkable that in so considerable an Action he was supported by the Prince of *Orange*.

All these marks of Confidence, and professions of Friendship, which the Emperour made him, were the cause of his Misfortunes. For tho' at his departure into *Spain* the Emperour recommended him particularly to the King his Son, the *Spaniards* who govern'd him (for he had been bred always in *Spain*) being jealous of the growing Greatness and good Fortune of this young Prince, made the King entertain such suspicions of him, that his most innocent words and actions had an ill interpretation put upon 'em, and the refusal which the States made of complying with the demands of the King was laid to his charge.

He easily perceived by the cold receptions of the King, that his Enemies had ruin'd him in his good opinion: But he was confirm'd in his belief when King *Philip* was going aboard the

Ship

Ship at *Flushing*, which was to carry him into *Spain*. The King looking on him with a great deal of anger, reproach'd him with hindring the execution of his designs by his private intrigues. The Prince replying with much submission, that the States had done every thing voluntarily and of their own accord; the King took him by the hand, and shaking it, answer'd in Spanish, *No los Estados mas vos, vos, vos*, repeating the word *vos* several times, which the *Spaniards* use by way of contempt, as we say in French *Toy, Toy*, Thou, thou. This particular I had from my Father, who learn'd it from a Confident of the Prince of *Orange*, who was present. The Prince, after this publick affront, had more wit than to conduct the King aboard his Vessel, but contented himself with taking leave of him, and wishing him a good Voyage into *Spain*: For he was secure enough in the City, where he was well beloved, and where there was a great concourse of people from all parts to see the King's Embarkment. As a further proof of his disgrace, instead of having the Government of the *Netherlands* conferr'd on him, which his Ancestors had enjoy'd, and which he passionately desired, he saw Cardinal *Granville*, his Enemy at the Helm, intrusted with all the secrets of the Court of *Spain* under *Margaret* of *Austria*, Duchess of *Parma*, and Governess of the *Netherlands*, who had particular Orders to have an eye on his Actions, and to communicate no affair of importance to him; which made him re-

ſolve for the preſervation of his Honour and his Life too, which he ſaw openly threatned, to ſupport himſelf with the love of the People, and court Foreign Alliances.

From hence 'tis reaſonable enough to conclude, that King *Philip* by his ill uſage of the Prince of *Orange*, who had done ſuch great Services to the Emperour his Father, was himſelf the cauſe of all the Diſorders in the *Low-Countries*. For had he continued a favourable Treatment to the Prince of *Orange*, according to the advice and example of his Father, he had without diſpute been a good Subject, and never had taken thoſe deſperate reſolutions, which kindled a fire that laſted above a Hundred years, and coſt the Lives of ſo many Thouſand Men, and drain'd the Treaſure of the *Indies*.

This ought to be a warning never to drive great Courages to deſpair. We meet with a Thouſand inſtances of this nature in Hiſtory, but particularly of *Narſes*. This famous Eunuch, after all his great Services were ſlighted, (for the Empreſs *Sophia*, Wife of *Juſtin* the Second, had ſent him word that ſhe would make him Spin with her Women,) replied, That he would weave ſuch a Web, that ſhe and the whole Empire ſhould never be able to cover. And to make his Threatnings good, he call'd the *Lombards* into *Italy*, who conquer'd the beſt part of it, to which they left their Name. This done, without returning to *Conſtantinople*, he ſtay'd ſome time at *Naples*, where he died quietly in his Bed,

Bed, in ſpite of all the deſigns of this proud Empreſs, who had ſent *Longinus*, a wicked and cruel Man, to ſucceed him, with Orders to diſpatch him.

But before I enter upon the General Hiſtory of the Actions of this Prince, 'twill be proper to ſay ſomething of his Family, leaving the Particulars, which would be too tedious to the Genealogiſts.

The Houſe of *Naſſaw* is, without contradiction, one of the greateſt and ancienteſt in all *Germany*. For beſides its high Alliances, the number of its Branches, and the honour of giving an Emperour near Four hundred years ſince, it has this particular advantage to have continued Ten entire Ages, and to boaſt with the State of *Venice*, as a Learned Man ſays, That its Government is founded upon a Baſis of a Thouſand years ſtanding.

Count *Otho* of *Naſſaw*, who liv'd Six hundred years ſince, had two Wives: The firſt brought him in Marriage the Country of *Gueldres*, and the other *Zulphen*, which were preſerved Three Ages in the Houſe of *Naſſaw*.

After him another Count *Otho* of *Naſſaw* Married the Counteſs of *Vianddeu*, who had great Eſtates in the *Netherlands*, above Three hundred years ſince.

His Grandſon *Engilbert*, the firſt of that Name, Count of *Naſſaw*, Married the Heireſs of *Læke* and *Breda*, A. D. 1404, and was Grandfather to *Engilbert* of *Naſſaw*, the ſecond of that Name.

This

This Prince was great in War and Peace. He won the Battle of *Guinegaſte*, puniſh'd the Rebellion of *Bruges*, and was Governour-General of the *Netherlands* under *Maximilian* the Firſt. He died without Children, and made his Brother *John* Heir of all his Eſtates.

This Count *John* had two Sons, *Henry* and *William*. The Lands in the *Low-Countries* fell to *Henry*'s ſhare, the Eldeſt; *William* the Youngeſt had thoſe of *Germany*. This is that *Henry* Count of *Naſſaw*, to whoſe ſtrong Solicitations againſt *Francis* the Fifth, *Charles* the Fifth owed his Empire. This was he, who on the Day of his Coronation put the Imperial Crown upon his Head: Nevertheleſs, after the concluſion of Peace between thoſe great Princes, when he was ſent by the Emperour to do Homage for the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*; King *Francis* by an incredible generoſity forgetting all what was paſs'd, Married him to *Claude de Chalon*, only Siſter to *Philibert de Chalon*, Prince of *Orange*, who had been brought up by *Ann* of *Bretan* his Mother-in-law. By this means *Rene de Naſſaw*, and of *Chalons* his only Son, was Prince of *Orange*, after the Death of his Uncle *Philibert de Chalons*, who died without Iſſue.

William Count of *Naſſaw* Brother to Count *Henry*, embraced the reform'd Religion, and baniſh'd the *Catholick* out of his Dominions. 'Twas he who was the Father of the great *William* of *Naſſaw*, whoſe Life I am writing, who

who became Prince of *Orange*, and Lord of all the Eſtates of the Houſe of *Chalons* by the Will of *Rene de Naſſaw*, and *de Chalon* his Coſin *German*, who was kill'd at the Siege of St. *Deſier*, *A. D.* 1544. and left no Children behind him.

The Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who was ſo much obliged to the Houſe of *Naſſaw*, was extreamly concern'd to ſee this young *Prince* bred up a Heretick, with much ado he removed him from his Father, and placed him near his Perſon, in order to his Converſion to the Catholick Religion, which indeed the Prince made a publick profeſſion of as long as the Emperour liv'd, and in the beginning of the Reign of *Philip* the Third. But the prejudice of the Education and the new Religion which he had ſuck'd in with his Milk, and had a taſte of afterwards at the Court of *France*, where the new Opinions were very much in Vogue when he was a Hoſtage at *Paris* for the Peace of *Cambray*, made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion on him, that he could never wear it off.

His Father Count *William* of *Naſſaw* had Five Sons and ſeven Daughters, by *Julienne* Counteſs of *Stolbourg*. The eldeſt was this *William* of *Naſſaw* Prine of *Orange*. The youngeſt was *John* Count of *Naſſaw*, who left a numerous and renowned Poſterity behind him. The Three other Sons were *Lodowick*, *Adolphus*, and *Henry* of *Naſſaw*, who ſignaliz'd themſelves in the Civil Wars of *France* and the *Netherlands*: They were never married, and

and all three died with their Swords in their hands, Couragiouſly ſeconding the Deſign of their elder Brother.

The Seven Daughters of *William* of *Naſſaw* were all Married, one to the Count of *Bergues*, who was Mother to that Count *de Bergues*, who in our days Commanded the Spaniſh Armies againſt his Coſin *Germans*, Prince *Maurice*, and *Henry Frederick*, and afterwards quitted the Spaniſh Service upon ſome diſguſt. The other Six were married to Sovereign Counts of *Germany*, one amongſt the reſt to Count *Schouarsbourg*, who had the miſfortune to be preſent at *Antwerp*, when *John Fauregny a Biſcayner* had like to have kill'd the Prince with a Piſtol-ſhot, and at *Delft* when he was Aſſaſſinated by *Balthaſar Guerard* a Native of the *Franche Comtè*. For ſhe never left her dear Brother, who loved her entirely.

William Prince of *Orange* was of a middle Stature; a brown Complexion, with Cheſnut hair, he talked little, thought much, but ſpoke always to the purpoſe, and his words paſſed for Oracles. No private Man in the time of *Charles* the Fifth liv'd with ſo much Splendour as the Prince of *Orange*, he entertained all the Foreign Princes and Miniſters at his Houſe, and in ſhort was the Glory of the Emperours Court and his Sons, who in his Proſcription which he thunder'd out againſt the Prince of *Orange*, having upbraided him with the Favours he had received from him, & how ill he had return'd them, the Prince in his

his Apology replyed, that he was ſo far from having any Obligations to the King, or inriching himſelf in his Service, that he had born the principal Expence of the Court compoſed of many Nations, the King taking ſo little care of it, that he was forced to defray it out of his own Pocket.

This ſplendid way of Living, and this engaging manner of inſinuating himſelf into all Peoples Affections, gain'd him the Eſteem and Friendſhip of all the World. Beſides he had a great advantage over all the Princes and Lords of the Emperors Court; the Houſe of *Naſſau* having had the Honour to produce the Emperour *Adolphus*, who was kill'd, *A. D.* 1298. at the Battle of *Spires*, upon whom theſe Verſes were made.

Anno milleno trecentis bis minus annis,
In Julio menſe Rex Adolphus cadit enſe.

When King *Philip* who had been bred up in *Spain*, came into the *Low Countries* in his Fathers Lifetime, there appear'd ſuch a vaſt difference between the Father and Son, that all the People, and particularly the Nobility, conceived as much Averſion and Contempt for one, as they had Love and Adoration for the other. The Emperour was good Natur'd, eaſie of Acceſs, treated all ſorts of Nations familiarly, and talked to 'em in their own Language, which won him an univerſal Reſpect and Veneration. King *Philip* rarely appeared in publick, wore his Clothes always in

in the Spaniſh Faſhion, talked little, and ſtill *Spaniſh*, which procured him the general hate of the Nobility, and the People of the *Netherlands*, who hating and dreading the Pride of the *Spaniards* that govern'd him, demanded of him in full Aſſembly of the States held at *Gand*, to withdraw all foreign Troops out of the *Netherlands*, and uſe their own Forces for the Security of the Towns, and make no Stranger Governour of the *Low Countries*; theſe Demands ſurprized, and incenſed the King, who believed all was done by the Inſtigation and Contrivance of the Prince of *Orange*; but concealing his Reſentment, he gave the *States* hopes of complying with their Requeſts. In this Aſſembly he made *Margaret* of *Auſtria* his natural Siſter, Wife of *Octavio Farneſe* Duke of *Parma* abſolute Governeſs of the Low Countries, created many Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, and then Embarked for *Spain*. At his Departure he left Orders with the Governeſs, to eſtabliſh the *Spaniſh Inquiſition* the in *Netherlands*, and erect ſeveral new Biſhopricks. Theſe Innovations were the Original cauſe of all the Civil Wars and Confuſions, ſo ſtrange an Averſion had the People for the very name of the *Inquiſition* and the new Biſhops, whom they conſidered as the Agents, and under Officers of the *Inquiſition*.

Anthony Perrenot Cardinal *de Granville*, firſt Biſhop of *Arras*, and then of *Malines*, was Miniſter of State, and had all the Management of Affairs under the Dutcheſs of *Parma*;

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He was Son to *Nicholas Perrenot* of *Beſancon*, Secretary of State to *Charles* the Seventh, who for his perſonal Merit had advanced him from the Quality of a private Citizen. This Cardinal naturally haughty and inſolent, treated the Nobility in a very imperious manner. For which they hated him to that Degree, that at laſt Count *Egmont*, Count *Horn*, and the Prince of *Orange*, no longer able to bear his inſupportable Pride, writ plainly to King *Philip*, that his Arrogance and violent Proceedings were abhorr'd by all the Nobility and People, and would ruin the *Netherlands* if he was not recall'd in time.

This Remonſtrance was conſidered as a criminal Boldneſs in *Spain*, and from that time they took a Reſolution to deſtroy theſe three Lords, and all their Adherents. But at that Conjuncture they were conſtrained to diſſemble and recall the Cardinal. Great diſorders hapning in the *Netherlands*, Count *John de Bergues* Governour of *Hainault*, and *John de Montmorency*, Lord of *Montigny*, Governour of *Tornay*, were diſpatched into *Spain*, with Orders to acquaint the King with what had paſſed, and perſwade him to compoſe the Differences by Mildneſs and Clemency, rather than by Severity and Roughneſs. But both loſing their Lives there, was a warning to the reſt to ſtand upon their Guard.

Aſſoon as the Prince of *Orange*, who was a great Politician, knew of the Reſolution the King had formed, by the Advice of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and at the inſtance of Cardinal

dinal *Granville*, who resented his being driven out of the Low Countries, of sending the Duke of *Alva* with an Army of *Spaniards* and *Italians* into the *Netherlands*, he wisely judg'd, that the King design'd to revenge himself on the States, for the Demands they had made him, and the forcible removal of the Cardinal, which was generally imputed to him. Knowing besides, that the Alterations which were to be made, would infallibly occasion great Convulsions and Commotions; he desired the Governess to request the King to give him leave to resign his Governments of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Utrecht*, and *Burgundy*, which was denied him.

He was only perswaded to remove from him his Brother Count *Lodowick*, who was thought to give him Counsels which were prejudicial to the Peace of the *Netherlands*. Which he did not think fit to Consent too; no more than the new Oath of Fidelity to the King, which many other great Men refused to take, for this Oath obliging him to root out Hereticks, he must consequently have sworn the ruin of his own Wife who was a *Lutheran*. Besides he alledged, that having already taken the Oath of Fidelity, 'twas needless to take a new one unless they question'd his Fidelity. The same Course was followed by *Anthony de Lalain* Count of *Hochstrat* Governour of *Malines*, Count *Horn*, *Philip de Montmorency*, Admiral of the *Low-Countries*, and *Henry Brederode*, *Baron de Viane* and Vicount of *Utrecht*, descended from the Soveraign Counts

Counts of *Holland*, and by many other Lords.

A. D. 1566, in *April* the Governeſs, preſſing with great heat, the Eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition, and the New Biſhops, Four hundred Gentlemen, headed by Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſaw* and Count *Brederode* (the next day arrived the Count *de Bergues* and *Culembourg*,) met at *Bruſſels* in the *Hotel de Culembourg*, and had the boldneſs to preſent a Petition which they had drawn up, to the Governeſs in the Palace. The Heads of this Petition were to reject the Inquiſition, the New Biſhops, and the Publication of the Council of *Trent*, which they maintained to be contrary to the Intereſt of the Provinces. This boldneſs let looſe the reins to all the Seditions and Factions in the *Netherlands*, and occaſion'd all the Sacrileges, all the Villainies, and Impieties, the breaking down Images, demoliſhing Churches, and Altars, *&c.* which are preſerved in Hiſtory, and are abhorr'd by the Proteſtants themſelves.

This famous Petition preſented by the Nobility marching two by two modeſtly clad, and arm'd only with their Swords, was at firſt ſlighted; and Count *Barlaymont* a great confident of *Madam de Parma*, becauſe he ſaw a great many in the Company not ſo rich as himſelf, told the Governeſs, by way of Contempt, that they were a Troop of Beggars, and that ſhe ought to take no notice, or have any regard to 'em. Hence the name *Gueux* or Beggars, continued to that party, as that of

Hugeunots to the Proteſtants of *France*. The *confederate Nobility*, far from taking offence at this Nick-name, applyed it to themſelves, and cloathed themſelves all in Gray cloths, and wore little wooden Porringers, and Beggars Bottles in their Hats, and drank Healths publickly to the *Gueux* or Beggars, at their Entertainments.

The Gentlemen who entred into this Aſſociation, wore at their Collar a Medal of Gold, on one ſide of which was ſtamped the Kings Image, on the reverſe two hands joyn'd, holding a Bag with this Inſcription, *Fideles au Roy juſque a la beſace*: Faithful to the King even to the Bag. The greateſt Lords on their Footmens Liveries embroider'd Diſhes, Bottles, and Beggars Bags, glorying in the Nick-name, and publiſhing that they would Sacrifice their Fortunes to ſupport ſo juſt a *Confederacy*.

About the end of the Year 1566. the Prince of *Orange* had a Conference at *Dendermonde* with Count *Egmont*, *Horn*, *Hochſtrat*, and his Brother *Lodowick*, to conſult of means for their own Security, and the good of the Provinces; moſt of them were of opinion to take up Arms, and oppoſe the entrance of the *Spaniards* into the *Low Countries*, who had a deſign to ruin them, as the Prince of *Orange* made appear by Letters of the *Spaniſh* Reſident at *Paris*, which he had intercepted: But Count *Egmont* Governour of *Flanders*, and *Artois*, who had a great Intereſt with the Souldiers, would not hearken to it, but remonſtrated

ſtrated to the Aſſembly, that they ought to truſt to the King's Clemency and Goodneſs. Which he repeated again at *Villebrook* in another Meeting, and the Prince of *Orange* replyed, That this Clemency of the King would be his ruin; and that the *Spaniards* would make him a Bridge over which they would paſs into *Flanders*, and which they would break down as ſoon as they had entred. After this the Prince told him, that ſince he took ſo little Care of his ſafety, he would provide for his own by retiring into *Germany*. To which the Count anſwered, *Farewell, Prince without Land*; and the Prince replyed, *Farewell, Count without a Head*, which Prophecy prov'd too true.

A. D. 1568. the 10th. of *February* the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition declared Guilty of High Treaſon, all thoſe who had not oppos'd the Hereticks of the *Netherlands*. Which was in effect condemning all the Nobility, which the Council of *Spain* had a deſign to deſtroy, particularly the Great Men and Governours of Provinces, and thoſe who had preſented the Addreſs againſt the Inquiſition: Which the King confirm'd by an Edict, which bore the ſame Date.

This done, he ſent the Duke of *Alva* with an Army of Veterane Souldiers, compoſed of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, to ſucceed *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Parma*, in the Government of the *Low Countries*. The Duke paſſed from *Spain* into *Italy*, where having made a rendezvous of his Troops, he entred into *Luxemburg*,

emburg, through *Savoy*, the County of *Burgundy* and *Lorrain*, and croſſed all thoſe Countries without the leaſt complaint of the Inhabitants in ſo long a March; ſo ſevere was the Duke, and ſo ſtrict an obſerver of Military Diſcipline.

The Prince of *Orange*, before the Arrival of the Duke of *Alva*, retired into *Germany* to his County of *Naſſaw*, giving out, that under pretence of ſettling the Inquiſition, and other Illegal things contrary to the Liberties and Privileges of the Provinces, the *Spaniards* deſign was to force them to rebel, that they might have a plauſible pretence of enſlaving them, and Erecting a Deſpotick Government in the *Netherlands*, as a revolted, and conquered Nation, in the ſame manner as they had done with the *Indies*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan* and *Sardinia*. And indeed the ſeverity, and cruelty of the Duke of *Alva* confirm'd what the Prince gave out; not only to the Provinces, but all the neighbouring Princes, who condemned his unjuſt and violent Proceedings, and particularly the Emperour *Maximilian*, a good natured and a merciful Prince.

At his firſt coming the Duke eſtabliſhed a Sovereign Council of twelve Judges, of which he made himſelf the Preſident. They were all men of the Long Robe, of no Birth nor Merit, except *le Sieurs Barlaymont*, and *Norcairme*, who were Gentlemen of Quality. The moſt eminent was *John Vargas* a *Spaniard*, ſo famous for his Cruelty, that the

Spaniards

Spaniards uſed to ſay, They had need of as keen a Knife as that of *Vargas* to cut off the Gangreen of the *Low Countries*. There was alſo one *Heſſels*, a *Flemming*, of this new Council, who ſlept always at the Tryal of Criminals, and when they awaked him to deliver his opinion, he rubbed his Eyes and cryed between ſleeping and waking; *ad Patibulum*, *ad Patibulum*, to the Gallows, to the Gallows, as *William Guerin* Advocate General of the Parliament of *Provence*; who ſaid, when they brought before him, one of *Herindol* ſuſpected of Hereſie, *Tolle*, *Tolle*, *Crucifige*, in Imitation of the *Jews*. This *Heſſels* was afterwards hanged upon a Tree, without any form of Juſtice or Proceſs, by the Governours of *Gand*, *Imbiſe* and *Ribove*, whom he had often threatned by his gray Beard to hang.

Sentences were often paſſed by only two or three Judges of this Council, as the Judgment againſt *Strales* a Burgomaſter of *Antwerp*, which was Sign'd only by *Vargas* and two other *Spaniards*.

This Council was called by the Duke of *Alva*, The Council of Troubles, and by his Enemies, The Council of Blood. By the Eſtabliſhment of this Council, which was a ſupream Court of Judicature, the Duke of *Alva* deprived all the other Councils of the *Netherlands* of their Power and Juriſdiction: For all men, without Exception, were denied the Liberty of appealing, even the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, who by the Statutes of their

Order were to be tryed by their Peers alone, in the Preſence of the King: Which was contrary to all Privileges. The Judges of the Country were forbid to take cognizance of the laſt Troubles; and all the Councils of the Provinces were to Anſwer before this Tribunal. A rich Burgher was condemned to Death, his hands being tyed behind his Back, being bound to the Tail of a Horſe, and mercileſly dragged to the place of Execution.

The Firſt and ſecond Days of *June*, Eighteen Lords and Gentlemen were barbarouſly executed at *Bruſſels*; among the reſt the two Barons of *Battembourg* Brothers; *John de Montigny* Lord of *Villiers*, and the Lord *de Huy* a Baſtard of the Counts of *Namur*; Drums beating all the time of their Execution, that their dying Speeches might not be heard; nor the People ſtirred up to Compaſſion by hearing them complain of the Injuſtice which had been done to them.

The Fifth of *June* following were publickly executed at *Bruſſels*, Count *Egmont* and Count *Horn*, ſeveral Regiments of Native *Spaniards* being drawn up in the great Square to guard the Execution. I may ſay, that the Death of theſe two Lords coſt the *Spaniſh* King the *Low Countries*, ſo univerſally were they loved and eſteemed.

The Firſt won the Battle of St. *Quintins* and *Gravelins*. The *French* Reſident at *Bruſſels* writ to Court, that he had ſeen that Head cut off, which had twice made *France* tremble.

Cardinal

Cardinal *Granville* never feared any of the great Lords of the *Netherlands*, but the Prince of *Orange*, for the reſt were not capable of forming or maintaining a Party; and when the News was brought to *Rome* in general, that the Duke of *Alva* had ſeized on all the great Lords of the *Low Countries*; he asked whether Silence was taken, meaning the Prince of *Orange*, and when they told him, No: he replyed, The Duke had done nothing.

The Prince of *Orange* who had put himſelf into a place of Security, was Summoned to appear before the ſupream Council, who condemned him for not obeying: For he appeal'd to the States of *Brabant*, his natural Judges, and the King himſelf, becauſe he was Knight of the *Golden Fleece*; and conſequently, could not be tryed by ſubdeligate and ſuſpected Judges, and his profeſſed Enemies, but by the King himſelf, aſſiſted by his Peers the Knights.

Which he repreſented at large in publick *Manifeſto's* to the Emperour *Maximilian* and the *German* Princes, who approved his Reaſons, and condemned the violence of the Council of *Spain*, which went ſo far as to ſeize on his eldeſt Son *William* Count *de Buren*, who was arreſted in the College of *Louvain* at the Age of thirteen, contrary to the privileges of the Univerſity, and the Country of *Brabant*, and afterwards carried Priſoner into *Spain*.

This hard usage made the Prince resolve to pass the *Rubicon*, and hazard all as *Cæsar* did, and endeavour to do himself Justice, and have satisfaction for his Injuries by way of Arms. He raised an Army in *Germany*, and sent it into *Friezland* under the Command of Count *Lodowick* his Brother, who made a happy beginning of the Compaign by the entire defeat of *John de Ligny*, Count of *Aremberg*, Governour of the Province, a famous Captain; who the year before was sent General of a considerable Army into *France*, to the Assistance of *Charles* the Ninth, against the *Huguenots*, who had the boldness to besiege him in *Paris*, after having missed of surprizing him at *Meaux*. This Count of *Aremberg* died upon the place: But 'tis said, he revenged his Death by that of Count *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, Brother to *William* Prince of *Orange*, and Count *Lodowick*, who remained Master of the Field of Battle, of the Baggage, and Artillery of the *Spanish* Army.

But Count *Lodowick* did not long enjoy the pleasure of this Victory; for the Duke of *Alva* fell upon him in the same Country with old Disciplin'd Troops, at a time when the *Germans*, instead of preparing for a vigorous defence against so powerful an Enemy, mutinied and demanded their Pay, and routed his Army, the most part of which were drown'd in the River *Ems* which lay behind them. Count *Lodowick* with great difficulty saved his Life which he had certainly lost, if he had not met with a little Boat, and crossed the River

which

which is very wide as it falling into the Seas, leaving all his Baggage, and Artillery in the hands of the *Spaniards*.

The Prince of *Orange*, a man of a ſteady and unſhaken Courage in all his misfortunes, without being ſtartled at this Blow, raiſes another Army of Twenty four thouſand *German* Horſe and Foot, which he joyned with a Body of Four thouſand *French*, Commanded by *Francis de Hangeſt* Lord of *Genlis*. Before he entred into the *Netherlands*, he publiſhed a *Manifeſto*, in which he lays open the Reaſons he had to take up Arms, clears himſelf of the Crimes he was charged with, excepts againſt the *Bloody Council*, and the Duke of *Alva* who pretended to be his Judge. He owns that he had quitted the Church of *Rome*, for a Religion which he thought more agreeable to the Holy Scripture; declares that he was forced to make War for the preſervation of his Country, and to free it from the Slavery the *Spaniards* were preparing for it, as in Duty bound, being one of the great Lords of the *Netherlands*. He hopes that King *Philip* whoſe good Inclinations were obſtructed by the ill Counſels of the *Spaniards*, will one day better conſider the Fidelity of the Provinces, and the Oath he publickly took of preſerving their Privileges: He ſays that the Laws of the *Dutchy* of *Brabant* diſpenſe with the Subjects, from paying that obedience to the Errors and Miſtakes of their Princes, which they only owe to their lawful Commands, which ought to be conformable

mable to the Customs of the Province. He added that the *Brabantines* never suffered any Prince to take Possession of the Government before they had agreed with him; That if the Prince breaks the Laws, and the Constitutions of the *Dutchy*, the Subjects shall be absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, till their Injuries are redressed.

After this the Prince having passed the *Rhine*, crossed the *Meuse* happily between *Ruremonde* and *Maestreicht*, though the Duke of *Alva* was on the other side of the River to dispute the passage with him. He passed his Foot over at a Ford, whilst the Horse who stood above, broke the force of the River; in the same manner as *Cæsar* passed the River *Segre* near *Lerida* in *Catalonia*. The Duke of *Alva* would not believe the Count of *Barlaymont*, who brought him the first News of it, but asked him whether the Prince of *Orange*'s Army were Birds.

Thus the Prince of *Orange* entred into *Brabant*. But the Duke who would not stake the *Netherlands* upon the Success of a Battle against a fresh Army, and stronger than his own, having fortifyed all the Towns, and covering himself with Rivers, and posting himself very advantageously, laughed at the Prince of *Orange*, who presented him Battle every day. For after the Prince had made Twenty nine Incampments, without being able to draw the Duke to an Engagement, being received into no City, contrary to his hopes, and pressed by Famine in a little

tle Country, uncapable of ſupplying longer ſo numerous an Army, and his Souldiers mutinying and demanding their Pay, (in one of which Mutinies ſome Officers were killed in his ſight, and he himſelf had been ſhot if the Piſtol bullet had not lighted on the Pommel of his Sword,) he was forced to disband his Army, which refuſed to follow him into *France*, to the Aſſiſtance of the *Huguenots*, the greateſt part of the Officers telling him, That they promiſed to ſerve only againſt *Spain*, not *France*. He paid the Army with the little ready Money he had, with his Plate, and the Money which the Sale of his Artillery and his Baggage yielded him, engaging to the principal Commanders, his Principality of *Orange*, and his other Lordſhips for the Security of what he ow'd them.

The extraordinary prudence and firmneſs of the Duke of *Alva* can never be enough admired, who found out an excellent way of beating his Enemies without fighting, whereas other Victories are uſually won by bloody and hazardous Battles.

He ſwore to the Meſſenger who came from his eldeſt Son *Frederick de Toledo*, and *Chiapin Vitelli*, Marqueſs of *Celone*, his *Mareſchal de Camp*, to preſs him to give the Enemies Battle, That 'twas a ſtrange thing they would not ſuffer him to manage the War as he pleaſed, and that if any durſt talk to him of fighting again, he ſhould never return alive.

This

This Marquess of *Vitelli* was a brave Captain, and had done such great Services to the Duke of *Tuscany* in his Wars, that King *Philip* demanded him of the Duke, to Command his Army under the Duke of *Alva*. He behaved himself extreamly well in *Flanders*, and died in the time of the *Commendador de Requisons*, who succeeded the Duke of *Alva* in the Government of the *Low Countries*. He was so prodigiously Fat, that he was forced to gird up his Belly to be able to walk. As he was a great Eater, and reckoned an *Atheist*, after his Death the *Gueux* made this Epitaph on him.

O Deus omnipotens, crassi miserere Vitelli,
Quem Mors præveniens non sinit esse bovem.
Corpus in Italiâ est, tenet intestina Brabantus;
Ast animam nemo, cur? quia non habuit.

The Prince of *Orange* disbanded his Army in *Strasbourg*, where he arrived from the *Netherlands* through the Frontiers of *Picardy*, *Champagne* and *Lorrain*.

Between *le Quesnoy* and *Cambray*, the Prince cut off Eighteen Companies of Foot, and three hundred Horse, and made almost all the Officers Prisoners. *Don Rufillé Henriquus*, Son to the Duke of *Alva*, with many others, were killed upon the place, which was some satisfaction to him for the Blow he had received in *Brabant*, where Count *Hochstrate* received a mortal Wound, and died not long after very much regretted by the Prince of *Orange*, for his

his Valour and unmovable Fidelity to his Party. *Philip de Morbais* Lord of *Louverval*, was taken Priſoner in the ſame Action, and afterwards beheaded at *Bruſſels*.

The Prince out of this great Army reſerved to himſelf only a Body of Twelve hundred Horſe, and with his Brothers, Count *Lodowick* and *Henry*, joyned the Prince *Palatine Wolfgang*, Duke of *Deuxponts*, whom he found ready to enter *France*, to the Succours of the *Huguenots*. He was preſent at the taking of *la Charité*, which was very happy for that Party, for if the *Germans* had not made themſelves Maſters of a paſſage over the River *Loire*, they could never have joyned the Admiral. He was afterwards in the Battle of *Roche la ville*. *D' Avila* obſerves, that the Prince of *Orange* on this occaſion Commanded the main Battle of the *Huguenots* Army, with the Count *de Rochefoucaut*, and that Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau* his Brother, ſignalized himſelf in the Vanguard againſt *Philip Strozzi*, Colonel of the *French Infantry*, who advancing too forward, was made Priſoner by the *Huguenots*. The ſame Author aſſures us, that 'twas at *Roche la ville*, where the King of *Navarre*, afterwards *Henry* the Great, began to give Proofs of the Courage, which he has ſince made appear on ſo many dangerous occaſions. He was afterwards at the Siege of *Poictiers* which was fatal to the *Huguenots*, for when they had ruined their Army before the place, they were forced to raiſe the Siege to relieve *Chatelleraut*. At laſt

he

he quitted the Camp at *Foy la Bineſe* near *Richelieu*, diſguiſed like a Peaſant, with four Men in his Company; and after having croſſed *Tourrain* and *Berry* with great difficulty, he arrived at *la Charité*, and then *Montbeliard*, from whence he retired into his County of *Naſſau* to raiſe new Forces. His Brother Count *Lodowick* was afterwards at the Battle of *Moncountour*, whence he ſaved himſelf in Company of the Admiral *de Chatillon*, and a Body of the *Huguenot* Horſe.

This year the Admiral adviſed the Prince of *Orange* to give out Commiſſions for Commands at Sea, to ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who had been driven out of the *Low Countries* by the Duke of *Alva*, who after having put to Death a vaſt number of Men, forced all People to pay the Tenth penny for the Sale of their Moveables, the Twentieth for immoveables, and the Hundreth penny for all they poſſeſſed. The Admiral aſſured the Prince, that if he could once ſet Footing in *Holland* or in *Zealand*, Countries very ſtrongly ſituated, 'twould be difficult to force him out, becauſe he was ſo well beloved by the People, who would never fail him at his need.

William Lord of *Lumay*, deſcended from the Count *de la Mare*, was the chief of theſe Refugees. He and his Aſſociates were called the *Sea Gueux* by way of diſtinction from the Land *Gueux*. This advice of the Admiral was very uſeful to the Prince of *Orange*, and was a ſort of Prophecy of his Eſtabliſhment in thoſe

thoſe Provinces, for by this means he poſſeſſed himſelf of all *Holland* and *Zealand*, and was as Succeſsful and Victorious at Sea, as he had been unfortunate at Land; for 'twas obſerved, that in Ten years continual War, the *Spaniards* were always beaten by the *Hollanders* at Sea.

In the Year 1570. Peace being concluded with the *Huguenots*, the Court of *France*, the better to amuſe and over-reach the *Huguenots*, made a ſhew of employing them againſt the *Netherlands*, under the conduct of the Duke of *Alenzon*, Admiral *Colligny*, and Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*. The Court pretended to be diſſatisfied with the King of *Spain*, for poyſoning *Iſabella* of *France* his Wife, whoſe Death the *French* gave out they would revenge, and the Murders of the *French* that had been Maſſacre'd in *Florida* by the *Spaniards*. They promiſed to the Prince of *Orange* by Count *Lodowick* his Brother, whom they had loaded with Honours and Careſſes, a conſiderable ſupply of Men and Money, and the Sovereignty of *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and *Friezland*, and that they would joyn the other Provinces to *France*.

The Prince of *Orange*, upon theſe great hopes and appearances which proved falſe, refuſed a very advantageous and ſecure Treaty, which the Emperour, offered him from the part of the King of *Spain*, and ſent Forces under the Command of his Brother-in-Law the Count *de Bergues*, to make an Attempt upon *Gueldres* and *Over-Yſſel*. The

Count

Count took *Zutphen* and ſeveral other places. His Brother Count *Lodowick* was to make a conſiderable effort on the ſide of *Hainault*, where he ſurprized *Mons*, the Capital of that Province, which diverſion hindred the Duke of *Alva* from retaking the Cities of *Holland* and *Zealand* that had newly declared againſt him, and which he might eaſily have done at a time when they were unprovided of forces and neceſſaries for their defence. But nothing incenſed the Duke of *Alva* ſo much as the ſurprizing of *Mons* which he reſolved to recover at any rate, leaving every thing elſe to apply himſelf wholly to this ſeige, which gave time to the revolted Cities to draw breath, and furniſh themſelves at Leiſure with Men and Ammunition.

The brave Defence of Count *Lodowick*, aſſiſted by Mounſieur *de la Nove bras de fer*, and many of the *French* Nobility, made the Siege of *Mons* very long and difficult. The *Spaniards* fired above 20000 Canon-ſhot againſt it.

In the mean time the Prince of *Orange* who had retired into *Germany*, had raiſed a greater Army than his firſt, to enter into *Brabant*, where the Cruelty and Exactions of the Duke of *Alva* made him hope for better Succeſs than he had in his firſt Invaſion. This Army was to be paid with the money the *French* Court had promiſed to ſupply him with. Thus the Prince believed with reaſon that the *Spaniſh* Forces would not be able to defend the *Low-Countries*, attack'd

attack'd on ſo many ſides by Land, whileſt by Sea they were gauled by the Counts *de la Mark*, *Sonoy*, *Treton*, the Brothers *Boiſols*, and *Bertel Entens* his Lieutenants in *Holland* and *Zealand*, where they had great Succeſs, as I ſhall afterwards declare.

The *Spaniards* were never in ſo great danger of loſing the *Netherlands* as at that Conjuncture. The hopes of the Prince were not groundleſs, and in all probability the *Spaniards* had been quite driven out of the *Low-Countries*, if *France* had made good its promiſes.

Thus this great Man, who had ſo many Strings to his Bow, parted from *Germany* with a great Army to enter into the *Low-Countries*, when he found all People driven to deſpair by the Tyranny of the Duke of *Alva*, and ready to receive him with open arms. Firſt he was received into *Ruremonde*, where he paſſed his Army over the Bridge into *Brabant*. *Louvain* gave him a ſum of money, and *Malines* opened its Gates to him, which coſt that poor City very dear. The Duke of *Alva* was abſent at the Siege of *Mons* which he reſolved to take, and the Prince deſigned to relieve, as well to ſave ſo important a Place, as to deliver his brother *Lodowick* from the danger he was in. But Mr. *de Genlis* who marched from *France* to the relief of the place with 7000 Horſe and Foot, having been defeated and taken Priſoner by *Frederick de Toledo*, who had gone out to meet him, upon the ſecret intelligence

which he received from the Court of *France* of his marching towards *Mons*, and the condition of his Forces. The Prince having attempted in vain to raiſe the Siege, for the Duke of *Alva* had intrenched himſelf ſo ſtrongly that 'twas impoſſible to force his lines, and at the ſame time underſtanding by the diſcharging of the great Guns and other ſigns of rejoycing in the Camp, of the Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew*, where Admiral *de Chatillon* and all his principal friends had been kill'd, and having no hopes from the *French* who had deceived him, but on the contrary having all the reaſon in the world to be apprehenſive of ſo great a Kingdom which had declared againſt his party and religion, he adviſed his brother *Lodowick* to make an honourable Compoſition, which was granted him, and he himſelf retired by ſmall Marches towards the *Rhine*. In this retreat he was in great danger of being kill'd by the Enemies and his own Soldiers. For the *German* officers talked of arreſting him to ſecure the payment of their arrears, which they were promiſed ſhould be paid at their arrival in *Brabant*, where he expected to receive the money the *French* had promiſed him. But this eloquent and engaging Prince appeas'd the mutiny, by aſſuring them 'twas not his fault, and ſatisfied them with promiſes and the little ready money he had.

On the other ſide he was in great danger of his Life at *Malines*; 800 *Spaniſh* Horſe, who had choſen men mounted behind them, entered

entered into his Camp by night, and pierced as far as his tent, and would have killed him as he ſlept, if a little dog who lay in his Bed, had not waked him by ſcratching his face with his claws; the greateſt part of the *Spaniards* being cut off, he marched ſtrait on to the *Rhine*, where he disbanded his Army at *Orſay*, and went through *Over-Yſſell* to *Utrecht*, and thence to *Holland* and *Zealand*, which had declared for him, all except *Middleburg* and *Amſterdam*, in the following manner.

Whileſt the Prince of *Orange* was a Refugee in *France* and *Germany*, and wandring from Province to Province, *William de la Mark Boiſſols. Siegneurs de Lumay, Sonoy, Treton*, the *Boiſſols Entens*, and others who acted under the Orders of the Prince, turned Pirates and practiſed the trade a long time with great Succeſs, till having no longer a retreat in the Ports of *England*, which Queen *Elizabeth* denied them at the inſtance of the Duke of *Alva*, and for Fear of making the *Spaniards* her Enemies, the Count *de la Mark* and the reſt, deſigning to ſeize a Port in *North-Holland* or *Friezland*, were obliged by the contrary Winds to put in for ſhelter, with 30 great and Small Ships, into the Iſle of *Vorn* in *Holland* where the *Brill* is, which they took by ſurprize, having found it without a Garriſon, which was ſent to puniſh *Utrecht* for refuſing to pay the tenth penny.

This Count *de la Mark* was a raſh and a cruel man. He ſwore never to ſhave his

Beard nor Head till he had revenged the death of Count *Egmont* and *Horn*. When he had ſurprized the *Brill*, which ſignifies Spectacles in the *Flemiſh* Tongue, he had himſelf painted in a large piece, with the Duke of *Alva* behind, whom he ſtood and put Spectacles on his Noſe by way of Deriſion, it being a term of Contempt in *Holland*, to ſay a man wants light.

He put ten pieces of Money in his colours in hatred of the Impoſition which the Duke of *Alva* had eſtabliſhed, and to make him more odious.

The Count *de Boſſut* Governor of *Holland* for the *Spaniards*, made a fruitleſs attempt to drive them out of the *Brill*. Many other Cities of *Holland*, viz *Horn*, *Alkmar*, *Edam*, *Goude*, *Oudewater*, *Leyden*, *Gorcum*, *Harlem*, and all *Zealand*, except *Middleburg*, following the Example of the *Brill*, abandoned the Duke of *Alva*, and declared for the Prince of *Orange*. *Fluſhing*, a conſiderable City and Port of *Zealand*, was one of the firſt that revolted, by the perſwaſion of the Prieſt, who on *Eaſter-day*, as he was ſaying Maſs, exhorted the People to recover their Liberty. This Air of ſedition having blown the People into a flame, they immediately went to their Arms, and forced the *Spaniſh* Garriſon to leave the place. But they arreſted *Alvarez Patheco*, a *Spaniard* and Relation of the Duke of *Alva*, who was ſuperintendant of the Fortifications of the *Cittadel* which was building at *Fluſhing*. He was immediately hanged by

by order of *Treton*, who revenged on him the death of his brother, who had been beheaded by the Duke of *Alva* at *Bruſſels* 4 years before. *Pacheco* in vain repreſented that he was a Gentleman, and deſired the favour to be beheaded, but he was hanged publickly on a Gibbet.

I wonder at the variety of opinions I have met with in the moſt famous Hiſtorians of the *Netherlands* concerning this *Pacheco*. *Grotius* ſays he was a *Savoyard*, though *Benlivoglio*, *Strada*, *Meurſius* and *Emanuel de Metteren*, do all agree he was a *Spaniard*. *Cardinal Bentivoglio* ſays he was beheaded, and others write that he was hanged: on the other ſide *Meurſius* calls this Gentleman who was executed, a Relation of the Duke of *Alva*, *Pacioli*, although the others call him *Pacheco*, confounding this *Pacheco* with *Francis Paciotti* of *Urbin*, Count *de Montefabre*, ſo famous for his skill in fortifications and other engines of War, that when he had built the Cittadel at *Antwerp*, his name was given to one of the *Baſtions* by order of the Duke of *Alva*, the four others were called the *Duke*, *Ferdinand*, *Toledo* and *Alva*, not one by the name of the King his Maſter. But to return to this *Pacheco*, *Emanuel de Metteren*, though a very exact Hiſtorian, names him *Pierre Pacheco*, though *Famianus Strada*, who was better informed, names him *Alvarez*. Which ſhows that the greateſt men are liable to miſtakes.

The Sea *Gueux* in requital of the Duke of *Alva*'s cruelty, hanged all the Priſoners they

made without distinction, but the *Spaniards* they tyed by couples back to back and threw them into the Sea.

As soon as the Prince of *Orange* arrived in *Holland* and *Zealand*, he made the *Sieur Diederic* or *Theoderick de Sonoy*, a *Frieziand* Gentleman, his Lieutenant in *North-Holland*, otherwise called *Westfrise*, and *Charles Boissol* Governor of *Flushing*, and his Brother *Lewis Boissol* Admiral These two Gentlemen were of *Brusselles*, and being condemned by the Duke of *Alva*, follow'd the fortunes of the Prince of *Orange*.

About that time the States of *Holland* and *Zealand* met at *Dordrecht*, where they acknowledg'd the Prince of *Orange* for their Governour, though he was absent, and obliged themselves by oath never to abandon him, and the Prince in like manner swore by his proxy *Philip de Marnix Sieur de St. Aldegonde*, to continue inviolably devoted to their interests. 'Twas observed in this Assembly that *St. Aldegonde* gave his hand to all the Deputies of the States, and they to him, in token of their mutual confidence and fidelity.

William Count *de la Mark* then present, was declared Lieutenant of the Prince of *Orange*, but rebelling some time after against the Prince with his confident *Bertel Entens* as rash as himself; they were both seized on, and they would have proceeded to the Trial of the *Count*, if the consideration of his alliances and great services had not pleaded for him, for he had been guilty of great cruelties

to

to ſome good Eccleſiaſticks which deſerved a ſevere puniſhment. After he was out of Priſon he retired to *Leige* where he died of the bite of one of his mad dogs.

The Prince did all things in the Name of the *States*, though he had all the Power of the Government in his own hands, ſuch an intire confidence had the People in him. There were anciently but ſix Cities in *Holland* that had right to vote in the *States*, viz, *Dordrecht*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Delft*, *Amſterdam* and *Goude*, the Prince added twelve others to theſe ſix, viz, *Rotterdam*, *Gorcum*, *Schedam*, *Sconen*, *la Brille*, *Alkmar*, *Horn*, *Enkhuſen*, *Edam*, *Munikedam*, *Medimblet* and *Purmerend*, that he might engage theſe Cities in his intereſt by the honour he had done them, and that they might be the better affected to him in the aſſembly of the *States*, and eaſe the publick miſeries and grievances the more effectually by being acquainted with them. He had the abſolute diſpoſal of all Employments and charges, but refuſed the name of *King* and contented himſelf with the Power.

At that time he baniſhed all the *Romiſh* Ceremonies out of the Churches, that this difference of Religion might cut off all means of an accommodation with the *Spaniards* who were ſworn Enemies to the *new opinions*.

A. D. 1572 the Duke of *Alva*, after the recovery of *Mons*, being very much indiſpoſed, ſent his Son *Don Frederick de Toledo*, to take the Cities of *Holland* and *Guelderland* that had revolted from him. *Don Frederick*

derick reſolved to make *Malines* an Example, for opening its Gates to the Prince of *Orange*: He did not think it enough to pillage the Town for ſeveral days together, but permitted his Souldiers to commit all ſorts of Cruelties and Barbarities, even to raviſh the Women, without excepting the Nuns. After this he marched againſt the Marqueſs of *Bergues*, routed him, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Towns he had won, among the reſt of *Zutphen*, which he mercileſly gave up to the Plunder of his Army. He retook *Narden* and intirely deſtroyed it, cutting off the Innocent and Guilty without diſtinction of Age or Sex, and contrary to the Promiſe which *Julian Romero* a *Spaniſh* Colonel, had made to the Burghers of ſaving their Lives, He burnt the Houſes, razed the Walls, let the dead Bodies lie Three whole Weeks in the Streets without Burial. An exceſs of Barbarity which was conſidered by the moſt Cruel, rather as a deteſtable Villainy, than a juſt Puniſhment for their revolts. This made *Harlem* take a Reſolution to hold out to the laſt Extremity, having to do with ſo Mercileſs a Conqueror.

The Dutch Hiſtorians write that the Art of Printing was begun at *Harlem*, *A.D.* 1440. by *Laurence le Contre*, and *Thomas Pieterſon* his Son-in-Law; but that their Factor *John Fauſtus* betraying them, carried away the Letters to *Amſterdam*, then to *Cologne*, and from thence to *Mayence*, where he ſtopt, and where *John Guttemburg*, a *German* Gentleman, who is commonly reckoned the Inventor of Printing, improved it very much. *Wibald*

Wibald Riperda a *Friezland* Gentleman, Commanded in the City of *Harlem*, and *Don Frederick* declared, that he would make uſe of no other Keys to enter the City than his Canon. But this proved a long and a bloody Siege, having laſted from *December* 1572. to *July* 1573. The *Spaniards* loſt above Four thouſand Men before it, among others the Sieur *Croſſonier*, Great Maſter of the Artillery, and *Bartholomew Campi de Beſoro* an excellent Engineer.

There was ſo great a Famine in the City, that a little Child Three years old was dug up by its Parents ſome days after it was buried, to prolong their miſerable Life. During this Siege *Don Frederick*, tired with its length, and deſpairing of good Succeſs, talked of returning into *Brabant*; but the Duke of *Alva*, blaming his impatience, ſent him word that if he reſolved to raiſe the Siege he himſelf would come in Perſon, ſick as he was to carry it on. But if his Indiſpoſition hindred him, he would ſend into *Spain* for his Mother to ſupply the place of her Son. This reproach made *Don Frederick* reſolve to continue the Siege.

In the heat of the Siege, the *Spaniards* having thrown into the City the Head of a Man with this Inſcription; *The Head of* Philip Konigs, (id eſt, *King*,) *who came to relieve* Harlem *with an Army of Two thouſand Men*, and afterwards another with this Inſcription; *The Head of* Anthony le Peintre, *who betrayed* Mons *to the* French. The Inhabitants of *Harlem*,

lem, put to Death eleven *Spaniſh* Priſoners, and put their Heads into a Barrel which by Night they rolled into the Enemies Camp: With this Inſcription. *The Citizens of* Harlem *pay the Duke of* Alva *ten Heads, that he may no longer make War upon them for the Payment of the Tenth penny, which they have not yet paid, and for Intereſt they give him the Eleventh Head.*

As they had hopes that the Siege would be raiſed, they ſuffered themſelves to be tranſported to prophane Mockeries, making the Images of Prieſts, Monks, Cardinals, and Popes, and then tumbled them down from the top of the Walls, after they had ſtabbed them in a hundred places

At laſt the City being reduced to the greateſt extremity, by an unheard of Famine, which ſwept away above Thirteen thouſand Perſons, and all hopes of relief being vaniſhed by the defeat of the Succours, which the Count *de la Mark*, and the Baron *de Balemberg* were bringing to the City, they were obliged to ſurrender at Diſcretion, by the Crys of the Women and Children, for the Men had reſolved to Sally out in a Body, and cut out an honourable paſſage with their Swords through the Enemies Army.

The *Spaniards* forced the Citizens to pay a great Summ of Money, to hinder the entire Deſtruction of the place; and hang'd and drown'd above Two thouſand Perſons in ſome few days; among others all the Miniſters, the principal Men of the City, and the Officers of the Troops. *Wibald Riperda* Gover-

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nour, and *Lancelot* a Baſtard Son to *Brederode*, were both beheaded.

The Cruelty of the *Spaniards* at *Harlem*, inſtead of doing their Cauſe Service, ruin'd it, and made the People reſolve rather to ſuffer the laſt Miſeries, than ſubmit to ſo Cruel and Tyrannical a Government. Thus the little City of *Alkmar* bravely repulſed all their Attacks, and the Prince of *Orange* ſurprized *Gertrudemberg* which belonged to him in his own Right, and which covered *Dordrecht*.

About the ſame time *Maximilian de Henin*, Count *de Boſſut*, a famous Captain, and very much valued by the Duke of *Alva*, who was made Governour of *Holland*, was taken in the *Zuider-Zee*, which is the Sea of *Amſterdam*, and his Fleet defeated by that of the Prince of *Orange*. His great Ship was alſo taken, which he called the *Inquiſition* to reproach the *Dutch*, with the principal Cauſe of their revolt. This Count was carried to *Horn*, where he remained Priſoner Four years, till the Pacification of *Ghent*. The *Spaniards* having taken Priſoner at the *Hague*, *Philip de Marnix* Sieur *de* St. *Aldegonde*, Miniſter of *State* to the Prince of *Orange*, he aſſured the Duke of *Alva*, that he would treat the Count *de Boſſut*, in the ſame manner as he did St. *Aldegonde*.

The Prince of *Orange* can never be enough commended for his good Nature, in treating the Count with ſo much Kindneſs, and Civility, though not long before he had corrupted a *Burgomaſter* of *Delft*, and prevailed upon

upon him to betray the Prince, and deliver him into his hands, whilst he was walking out of the City. But the Conspiracy was discovered by a Letter intercepted from the Count to the *Burgomaster*.

About that time the Duke of *Alva* and his Son were recalled into *Spain*; King *Philip* having found out too late, that their Cruelty confirmed the *Low-Countries* in their Rebellion. *Lewis de Requesens*, great Commander of the Order of St. *James* in *Castile*, and Governour of *Milan*, who had a great share in the famous Victory of *Lepanto*, succeeded the Duke of *Alva* in the Government of the *Netherlands*. The Duke at his Departure boasted, that he had put to Death by the hands of the Hangman, above Eighteen thousand Men, yet cruel *Vargas* who returned into *Spain* with him, cryed at parting, that his Clemency and Gentleness had lost the King the *Netherlands*.

A.D. 1574. *Middleburg* the Capital City of *Zealand*, having been a long time defended by that renowned Captain *Christopher de Mondragon*, and endured a great Famine, and after the defeat of the *Spanish* Fleets, who attempted in vain to relie e it, was reunited to the rest of the Province. This Siege lasted two years, and the *Spaniards* spent above Seven Millions in the several Fleets they set out to Succour it.

The Prince of *Orange* so successful at Sea, had always ill Luck at Land. For the fourth Army which Count *Lodowick* of *Nassau* brought

brought him out of *Germany*, to assist him in driving out the *Spaniards* from the rest of *Holland*, was defeated near *Nimeguen* by *Sancho D' Avila*, a General of great Experience, who from a private Souldier, had advanced himself, through all the Degrees and Employments of War, to that great Command. The *Germans* of Count *Lodowicks* Army, instead of providing for their own, and their General's Defences, fell to Mutiny according to their usual Custom, and demand their Pay. In this Action, Count *Lodowick* and his Brother Count *Henry* of *Nassau*, and *Christopher* Count *Palatine*, were all three killed. *D' Avila* remained Master of the Field of Battel, of Sixteen pieces of Canon, and all the Baggage. This Battel was fought in the beginning of the Government of *Requesens*. The Prince of *Orange* who loved his Brothers tenderly, was sensibly afflicted with this loss. But he abated nothing of his Constancy and Courage.

A. D. 1575. the *Spaniards*, encouraged by the defeat and death of the two Brothers of the Prince of *Orange*, laid Siege to the City of *Leyden*, which after a long and unparallell'd Famine, was miraculously saved by breaking down the Banks, which drowned a great many *Spaniards*, and by the Succours which was conveyed into the City, by an infinite number of Boats that swam on the Lands that were overflown.

When the Prince represented to the *States*, the Damage which the breaking down the Dikes would occasion, they replyed, that a Country

Country ſpoiled was worth more than a Country loſt.

But in regard this was a very memorable Siege I think fit to ſay in general, that they had built two hundred flat bottomed Boats, with Twelve, thirteen, fourteen, ſixteen, and eighteen Oars. The greateſt carried two pieces of Canon before, and two on the ſides; they ſent for Eight hundred Seamen from *Zealand*, who had all little pieces of Paper in their Hats with this Inſcription; *Rather ſerve the* Turk *than the* Pope *and* Spaniard, *upbraiding them with the violence they uſed to their Bodies and Conſciences.* This Fleet was Commanded by the Admiral *Louis Boſſut*. One of the Seamen having plucked out the Heart of a *Spaniard*, eat it publickly all raw, and bloody, ſo violent is the Averſion and Paſſion of theſe Country-men. They had no Bread in the City for Seven weeks, and their daily allowance to a Man was half a Pound of Horſe-fleſh or Beef, but by good Fortune to the City, that very day the *Spaniards* drew off, Twenty ſix Fathoms of the Wall fell down, and a North wind dryed up the greateſt part of the Water, and they muſt unavoidably have fallen into the power of the *Spaniards*, if they had ſtayed only one day longer. Such an Accident happened at *Rochelle*, for a little after the ſurrender, a tempeſt broke down a great part of the Bank.

In this Siege they made Paper Money with this Inſcription: *Hæc libertatis imago.* They Coyned Tin Money at *Alkmar*, and had Five hundred

hundred Rix dollars for Five thouſand pieces of that Coin.

Before the Relief of *Leyden*, *Ferdinand de la Hoy*, the new Governour of *Holland*, and the Sieur *de Liques*, Governour of *Harlem*, ſollicited the Citizens of *Leyden* to ſurrender, flatterring them with a good and favourable Treatment. They anſwered him only with this Latin Verſe,

Fiſtula dulce canit volucrem dum decipit auceps.

Continuing to perſwade them by Letter to a Surrender, they replyed, That they would defend themſelves to the laſt Extremity, and that if they hadſpent all their Proviſions, and had eaten their left hands, they ſhould have ſtill their right hands remaining, to guard themſelves from the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, and that they remembred the Cruelties which had been committed at *Malines*, *Zutphen*, *Harden*, and *Harlem*.

The Prince of *Orange* after the relief of *Leyden*, was received into the City as a God. He preſerved and embalmed ſeven Pigeons in the Town-houſe, in token of his perpetual Acknowledgement of the Service they did him in carrying the Letters of the beſieged to him, and his Anſwers back again. At that time he founded the Univerſity of *Leyden*, ſetled annual Revenues upon it, and endow'd it with great Privileges.

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The Year before, the Prince, having loſt his ſecond Wife *Anne* of *Saxe*, married *Charlotte de Bourbon*, Daughter to the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who had retired to the Court of *Frederick* the Third Elector *Palatine*. The Marriage was celebrated at the *Brill*, where ſhe was conducted from *Heydelberg*, by the *Siegneur de* St. *Aldegonde*. She had been a Nun formerly, and Abbeſs of *Jouarre*. The Father, a zealous *Catholick*, demanded his Daughter of the Elector, by Monſieur the Preſident *de Thou*, and after that by Monſieur *D'Aumont*.

The Elector offered to reſtore her to the King, provided ſhe might be allowed the free exerciſe of her Religion, but Mr. *de Montpenſier* chooſing rather to have his Daughter live at a diſtance from him, than ſee her before his Eyes make profeſſion of a Religion, which was ſo much his Averſion, gave at laſt his Conſent to the Marriage, and gave her a Fortune.

After the Siege of *Leyden*, a Treaty of Peace was ſet a foot at *Breda*, but it did not take effect. The *States* of *Holland* and *Zealand* demanded the departure of the *Spaniards* out of the *Netherlands*, the meeting of the *States General*, and the liberty and exerciſe of their Religion. *Requeſens*, on the contrary, offered to withdraw the *Spaniards*, and a general Act of Oblivion of all things paſſed, and the Re eſtabliſhment of their Privileges, but added that the King of *Spain* would never tolerate any other Religion in his Dominions, than the *Roman Catholick*.

The

The Treaty of Peace being broken of, the *States* Coyned Money, on one Side of which was ſtamped the Lyon of *Holland*, holding a naked Sword with this Motto; *Securius bellum pace dubiâ*, War is ſafer than a doubtful Peace.

About the ſame time the Commander *Requeſens* made himſelf Maſter of *Ziriczee* in *Zealand*, by the incomparable Gallantry of *Chriſtopher de Mondragon*, who waded over ſeveral Leagues of the Sea to the Amazement of all the World, and the great hazard of his Troops. But *Requeſens* dying not long after, the *Spaniſh* and *German* Soldiers mutinyed for want of Pay, and fell to ravage all the Country. They ſack'd *Maeſtritcht*, and *Antwerp* it ſelf, where the loſs was computed at Twenty four Millions in Money and other moveables, and in the Deſtruction of houſes. The plundering of this great City laſted ſeveral days, and was called the fury of the *Spaniards*, many of whom made their Guards of their Swords and Corſelets of pure Gold, but the Goldſmiths of *Antwerp* mixed Copper with it.

The *Spaniards* made Priſoners in *Antwerp*, Count *Egmont*, the *Seigneur de Goignie*, and the Baron de *Capres*. This laſt making a low Bow to *Hieronimo Rhode* chief of the Muniteers, who ſate in an Elbow Chair at the entrance of the Citadel, received a kick in the Belly from this inſolent *Spaniard*, who told him by way of Scorn, that he had nothing to do with his reverence.

The *Spaniſh* and *German* Troops after the taking of *Antwerp*, living with inſupportable Licentiouſneſs, and committing great Barbarities, the Provinces who continued firm to the obedience of the King of *Spain*, called in the Prince of *Orange* to their aſſiſtance, for they lay expoſed to all the Robberies and Inſolence of thoſe Mutineers, and declared the *Spaniards* Enemies to the King and Country.

At that time all the Provinces of the *Low Countries*, except *Luxemburg* which is divided from the reſt, united for their common defence, and made the famous Treaty of Peace at *Ghent*, *A. D.* 1576. containing Twenty five Articles, the principal of which were,

That there ſhould be a general Amneſty of all that was paſt.

That all things ſhould continue in the ſame poſture they were in at that time.

They took a ſolemn Oath to mutually aſſiſt each other to free the Country from the Yoke of the Spaniards *and other Foreigners.*

That all Placarts and Condemnations, which were made upon the Account of the late Troubles, ſhould be ſuſpended till the meeting of the States General.

That all Priſoners particularly the Count de Boiſſut *ſhould be ſet at Liberty.*

That the Pillars, Trophies and Statues with Inſcriptions, which had been Erected by the Duke of Alva *ſhould be pluck'd down, particularly that which was ſet up in the* Court of Antwerp, *and the Pyramid he had raiſed, in the place where the* Hotel

Hotel de Culembourg *ſtood, which he had razed, becauſe the Nobilty met there to draw up an Addreſs againſt the* Inquiſition.

At that time all Men believed the King of *Spain* had entirely loſt the *Netherlands*, for he was forced to comply with the time, and ratify and approve the Peace.

In purſuance of this Treaty the Caſtles of *Ghent*, *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, *Utrcebt* and *Groeningen* were demoliſhed; all *Friezeland* declared for the *States*, and *Gaſpar de Robb* who had married the Heireſs of *Billy* and *Malepert*, Governour of the *Province* was laid cloſe Priſoner in the Town-houſe of *Groeningen* with Irons on his Legs. This *Gaſpar* a Man of Senſe and Courage, was Son to King *Philip*'s Nurſe, and Native of *Robb* in *Portugal*. He was advanced and employed by *Margaret* of *Parma*, and in her time was Governour of *Philipville*. He was releaſed out of Priſon, by Vertue of the perpetual Edict, which was made under the Government of *Don John* of *Auſtria*.

Chriſtopher de Vaſquez who had hid himſelf in the Monaſtery of the *Cordeliers*, ſhaved and diſguiſed like a Monk, was alſo taken; and carried in that Habit into the great Square of *Groeningen*, the people crying out in Mockery. that they had got a new Biſhop favourer of the *Inquiſition*.

Upon this Subject, I cannot forbear obſerving, how addicted the People of theſe Countries are to turn their Enemies into Ridicule upon

the leaſt good Succeſs, as they did after the taking of *Levarden* in *Friezland*, for the *States* having ſurprized it, they brought all the Monks, and Prieſts into the great Square, where their Troops were drawn up in *Battalia*, and placed them by Ranks, between the Ranks of the Souldiers, and then conducted them out of the City in the ſame order, at the ſound of Fifes and Drums, with incredible Mockeries, and there left them without doing them any other injury than laughing at them.

They had already given Proofs of this Inclination to Deriſion and Raillery, after the ſurprizing of the *Brill*, in that Picture which I mentioned before, where Count *de la Mark* put Spectacles on the Duke of *Alva*'s Noſe, and at *Harlem*; where the Citizens believing, That *Don Frederick de Toledo* would raiſe the Siege, made Proceſſions of Images clad like Monks, Prieſts, and Cardinals, holding the Figures of the bleſſed Sacrament, which they flung down from the tops of their Walls.

I my Self at Twelve years old, obſerved the particular bent of this Nation to Mockery. My Father who was Embaſſador into *Holland*, had put to Board in the Year 1622. with Doctor *John Gerard Voſſius* a *German*, and Native of *Heidelburg*, who has publiſhed a vaſt number of Learned works: My elder Brother, my Self, and my younger Brother called *Daniel*, who was killed in the Battle of *Harlingen*, in the Year 1645, who had ſo great a Genius for the *Mathematicks*, that he would

would have equal'd, the Reputation of *Galileus*, and *Archimedes*, if Death had not ſnatch'd him away in the flower of his Age. That Year 1622. *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*; having forced the Marqueſs *Ambroſe Spinola*, to raiſe the Siege of *Bergen-op-zoom*, aſſiſted by Count *Erneſt* of *Mansfield*, and Duke *Chriſtian* of *Brunſwick*; the Cities of the *Low Countries* were tranſported, with inexpreſſible Joy. Among others *Leyden* joyned Deriſion to its publick rejoycings. This Doctor's Houſe ſtood before the Square of the Church call'd *Hogutanskirk*, where was one of the greateſt Bonfires. Upon the top of the Pile was placed a great Spinning Wheel, which they call *Spin* in *Dutch*, and round it little Tickets of Paper, on which was written the Name of *Spinola General* of the *Spaniſh* Army. Upon the Cord of the Wheel there were other Tickets, with the Names of *Gonſolvo de Cordoua*, one of the chief Commanders of the *Spaniſh* Army. Upon the Wheel was a great Diſtaff loaded with Flax, which they call Claſque in *Dutch*, and upon it was writ the Name of *Don Louis de Valaſco*, *General* of the Horſe; this done they put Fire to it, and the People over-joy'd, fancied they had burnt theſe *Generals* with their Names. This bears ſome Reſemblance with the *Rebus*'s of *Picardy*, and acquainted me at that time, with the raillying Humour of theſe People.

Purſuant to this Inclination of the People, 'twas reported with probability, ſome years ſince, That the Sieur *van Beuningen*, which

is the Sieur *du Boudon* in *French*, had cauſed himſelf to be ingraved an a Medal, like another *Joſhua* making the Sun ſtand ſtill, meaning that he had put a ſtop to, and been the *Jupiter Stator* of the *French* King's Conqueſts, who had taken the Body of the *Sun* for his device. But Perſons very well informed, have aſſured me that 'twas a ſcandal faſtned on him, to caſt an *Odium* upon him, and his Nation, at our Court, and that the Medal was never ſeen, nor had ever any Being, unleſs in the Imaginations of thoſe Men, who contrived the Story.

It is true, That the united Provinces, after the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, all the Honour of which they aſſum'd to themſelves, puffed up with the Glory of a Treaty, which they imagined ſo advantageous to them, Coyned Medals with a pompous Motto, which their Enemies call'd proud, and which as I am aſſured was this,

Aſſertis Legibus & ſacris,
Defenſis exteris Regibus,
Vindicata perorbem Chriſtianum
Marium libertate,
Egregiâ pace virtute Armorum partâ.
Batavia P.

Which I thus tranſlate in favour of the Ladies.

Having vindicated our Religion and Laws,
And defended Foreign Kings, our Allies,

And

And eſtabliſhed the ſecurity of Navigation in the Seas of the Chriſtian World, and made a glorious Peace by the force of our Arms, the States-General, &c.

The Conſideration of which made Monſieur *de Lamoignon*, the greateſt and moſt famous Man in *France* for his Learning and Vertue, ſay to me, that the *Romans*, after the Deſtruction of *Numantia*, and *Carthage*, the Rival of their Empire, could not have talked of their Victories in more lofty and magnificent Terms.

At the end of the Year 1671. the *States-General* ſeeing that thoſe Medals drew upon them the Envy and Hatred of the moſt powerful Monarchs, ſuppreſſed them as well as they could, by breaking the Coins and Molds, inſomuch as there remain very few unleſs in the Hands of the Curious.

Theſe proud Medals with the continual and inſolent Reflections of the *Amſterdam* Gazzette, which took a Liberty of openly rallying all things without ſparing Crowned Heads, which ought always to be reſpected. was not the leaſt Motive of the laſt War. 'Tis this gave credit to the imaginary Medal of the Sieur *Van Beuningen*, whoſe Airy and Extravagant Diſcourſes made any thing to be believed of him.

Upon this Subject I may affirm with Reaſon, that thoſe Men are the wiſeſt who are never arrogant in good Fortune, which many eaſily change into bad by the ordinary

Revolutions of the Affairs of this World, which ſuffer nothing to be ſettled or laſting. Beſides Moderation make Men lamented when they are unhappy; but we rejoice at the Misfortune of Inſolent perſons. When Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy* had been defeated by the *Suiſſes*, he ſent the Seigneur *de Contay* his Favorite, to *Louis* the XI. at *Lyons*, to court his Friendſhip in the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive Terms imaginable, contrary to his uſual Cuſtom; upon which *Philip de Comines* ſays theſe very Words, *If a Prince would take my Advice, he ſhould behave himſelf with ſo much Moderation in Proſperity, that he ſhould never be forced to change his Language in Adverſity.* He adds, that *the Seigneur* de Contay, *as he paſs'd through* Lyons, *had the Mortification to hear Songs ſung in honour of the victorious* Suiſſes, *and to the diſgrace of his Maſter, whom they had routed.* But moſt Princes and Miniſters diſplay all their Sails to the favourable Gales of good Fortune, without thinking of contrary Winds which often ſhipwrack them.

Since we have been talking of the Sieur *Beuningen* or *Boudin* in *French*, I make this Obſervation, that at the Beginning of the War, the principal Officers and Miniſters of *Holland* had very odd pleaſant Names. Their great manager of Buſineſs was the Sieur *de Boudin*, in *Engliſh*, *Pudding*; their *Mareſchal de Camp* the Sieur *Urſt*, dead lately at *Hamburgh*, (he was of *Holſtein*, of mean Birth, and raiſed his Reputation by de-

defending *Cracovia* ſo long time for the *Swedes* againſt the *Imperialiſts*.) *Urſt* in *Dutch* ſignifies *Hogs Guts ſeaſon'd*; their other *General* that defended *Groeningen* and retook *Grave*, was the Sieur *de Rabenhaupt*, which is *Ravens-Head*; and one of their *Colonels* was *Paen*, *Bread*, and *Vin*, *Wine*, who had his Head cut off.

'Twas obſerved alſo that the *Swediſh* Miniſters and Commanders had ſtrange Names, *Oxenſtiern* ſignifies *Ox-forehead*. One of their moſt Famous Colonels was called *Douffell*, which is *Devil*, who was killed at the Battle of *Leipſick*; and another *Schtang*, a *Serpent*; and *Colonel Wolfe*, who defended *Stetin* ſo bravely.

I am of Opinion theſe Digreſſions will not be diſagreeable to the Reader, which ſerve to divert and refreſh him after he has been tir'd with Narrations all of the ſame Nature. This has been practiſed by *Herodotus* and others with general Approbation.

But to return to our principal Subject, the Affairs of the *Low Countries*. *Don John* of *Auſtria*, natural Son to *Charles* the V. Famous for the Victory of *Lepanto*, ſucceeded the Commander *de Requeſens* in the Government of the *Netherlands*, and arrived at *Luxemburg* the very day that *Antwerp* was ſack'd. He went *Incognito* through *France*, and paſſed for an Attendant of *Octavio de Gonzague*, and ſaw *Henry* the III. at Dinner; and at *Paris* he was informed of the State of the *Low Countries* by *Don Diego de Zuniga* the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador. *Don*

Don John of *Auſtria* deſpiſed the *Dutch*, and thought them very eaſy to be impoſed upon, as did the Duke of *Alva*, who uſed to ſay, he would ſtifle the *Hollanders* in their Butter. But theſe heavy ſtupid Men, as he thought them, having more Solidity and good Senſe than florid Wit, eaſily diſcovered that he had a deſign to deceive them by fair Words and affected Civilities.

He was at that time thirty years old, a man of high and ambitious Thoughts: He had formed a Project of making himſelf King of *Tunis* by the Aſſiſtance of the Pope, but King *Philip* would never hearken to it. Afterwards being made Governour of the *Low-Countries*, he had a deſign to depoſe Queen *Elizabeth*, and reſcue *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, whom he pretended to marry by the Favour of the *Guiſes* her Relations, who encouraged him to this Attempt for their own private Intereſts. Theſe vaſt Deſigns gave great Jealouſy to King *Philip*, who was apprehenſive with Reaſon, leſt a war-like Prince as he was and who had won ſo much Reputation over all *Europe*, by gaining the Battle of *Lepanto*, by this new Acceſſion of Power, ſuffering himſelf to be hurried away with his Ambition and the natural deſire of Empire, ſhould one day endeavour to make himſelf Maſter of his Dominions to the prejudice of his Children. Theſe Thoughts frightned him extreamly, with Reflection on the old Example of *Jugurtha*, who, though a Baſtard, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Kingdom of

Maſiniſſa

Maſiniſſa by the Murder of the lawful Heir; and the freſher Inſtance in his own Family, of *Henry* the Baſtard, his Predeceſſor, who diſpoſſeſſed and put to death *Pedro* the *Cruel* the lawful King of *Caſtile*. King *Philip*, who to rid himſelf of the like Fears had not ſpared his own Son *Don Carlos*, had more Wit than to ſuffer any longer the juſt Grounds of Suſpicion which his baſtard Brother gave him, he reſolved to ſet himſelf at eaſe of that ſide. *John d' Eſtowedo* Secretary to *Don John*, who was accuſed of inſpiring his Maſter with theſe ambitious Deſigns, being diſpatched into *Spain* about ſome Affairs of conſequence, he was privately aſſaſſinated by *Antonio Perez*, Secretary of State, and Favorite to King *Philip*, by his Orders; whoſe death made all the World believe, that *Don John's*, which happened not long after, had been haſtned.

Upon *Don John's* arrival into the *Netherlands*, his favouring the *Spaniards* who were declared publick Enemies, made a Rupture between him and the *States*, who took up Arms againſt him by the Advice of the Prince of *Orange*. He earneſtly exhorted them not to ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by the falſe Hopes which *Don John* gave them from the Part of the King of *Spain*, repreſenting to them that angry Princes diſſemble for ſome time, but they never forget an Injury but when 'tis out of their Power to revenge it, and that they are ſparing of no Words nor Promiſes to conceal their Reſentments;

ſentments; quoting that Maxim of the *Roman* Emperours, that *They who had offended their Princes ought to be numbered among the dead.*

In fine, the perpetual Edict was concluded between the *States* on one ſide, and *Don John* on the other in the Name of the King, by the Mediation of the Emperour *Rodolphus* and the Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, on the 17th of *Febr. An. Dom.* 1577. By this the Treaty of *Ghent* was ratified, a general Amneſty granted, and the holding of the *States*. The Departure of the *Spaniards* and *Germans* out of the *Low-Countries* was agreed to, and that they ſhould leave behind them all the Proviſions, Ammunitions and Artillery which were in their Garriſons. The *Spaniards* promiſed to puniſh the Soldiers who had been guilty of ſo many Outrages, and to ſet at Liberty the Count *de Burin* Priſoner in *Spain*. But the Prince of *Orange*, and the *States* of *Holland* and *Zealand*, entered their Proteſtation againſt the Edict, maintaining, That a great many things, particularly thoſe which related to Religion had not been ſufficiently explained.

In purſuance of this perpetual Edict, the *Spaniards* went out of the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, and *Philip de Croy* Duke of *Arſchaite* was made Governour of it, who took an Oath publickly bare-headed to *John Eſcovedo*, that he would keep the Caſtle of *Antwerp* for King *Philip* his Maſter and deliver it up to no Man but Himſelf or his Succeſſors,

but

but by his expreſs Command; to which *Eſcovedo* replyed, *If you perform what you promiſe, God will help you; if not, the Devil take you, Body and Soul!* and all the ſtanders by cryed, *Amen.*

By Virtue of this Edict all Priſoners were releaſed on both ſides, the Count *Egmont*, the Sieur *de S. Goignie*, the Sieur *de Capres*, and others in the Cuſtody of the *Spaniards*, and *Gaſpar de Robb*, and others by the *States*.

This done, *Don John* was received into *Bruſſels* in great State, as Governour-general of the *Low-Countries*: But beginning to oppreſs the Provinces, purſuant to the private Orders he received from the Court of *Spain*, which were diſcovered by ſeveral Letters intercepted, which *Don John* and his Secretary *Eſcovedo* writ in Cyphers to the King and his Miniſters, which *Philip de Mornix*, Seignieur *de St. Aldegonde* decyphered: This made them reſolve to oppoſe his pernicious Deſigns by Force of Arms.

Don John, under a pretence that they had a Deſign upon his Perſon, retired from *Bruſſels*, and having received the Queen of *Navarre* into *Namur*, ſurprized the Caſtle of *Namur*, and then *Charlemont*, and made preparations for War; and recalled the *Spaniſh* and *German* Troops. He called that day he ſeized the Gaſtle of *Namur*, the firſt of his Government, as *Henry* the III. afterwards called the Day of the Murther of the Duke of *Guiſe*, the firſt of his Reign.

The

The *States* took up Arms on their ſide, demoliſhed the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, and joined themſelves to the Prince of *Orange*. But the *States-General* aſſembled at *Bruſſels* demanding the free Exerciſe of the Catholick Religion in *Holland* and *Zealand*; he made anſwer, that he could make no Alterations in that Affair without conſulting the *States* of theſe two Provinces, who had the ſole and abſolute Power of doing it. This was a fundamental Maxim of that State; which was afterwards changed by the Factions and Force of Arms under the Government of Prince *Maurice*, his Son, as I ſhall manifeſt in his Life.

Prince *William* of *Orange* being arrived at *Breda* with his third Wife *Charlotte de Bourbon*, he was invited by the *States* to come and encourage them by his Preſence: For this Effect the Burghers of *Antwerp* went out to meet him, and conducted him into their City, where the *States-General* deputed to him the Abbots of *Villiers* and *Marotes*, the Barons *de Freſin*, and *Capres*, to beſeech him to come in all haſte to *Bruſſels*. The Prince went to *Bruſſels* through the *New-Canal*, attended by the Burghers of *Antwerp* who marched in good Order on one ſide of the *Canal*, and on the other ſide by the Burghers of *Bruſſels*, all in gilt Armour, who came out of their City to meet him. He was receiv'd into *Bruſſels* with great magnificence and Triumph, with incredible Acclamations of Joy by all the World. Immediately

diately he was declared *Governour of Brabant*, and *Superintendant of the Finances of the Provinces*.

Upon this we may obſerve that tho' the Life of this Prince has been croſs'd by ſtrange Diſappointments and Misfortunes capable of ſinking a Man of leſs Reſolution than himſelf: Yet theſe Accidents were ſweeted from time to time with thoſe ſecret pleaſures and Delights which the moſt Stoical and inſenſible Men are overjoyed at, as the Acclamations and Applauſes of the People, whoſe Hearts and Affections he entirely poſſeſs'd. Other Princes command only the Bodies of their Subjects, without having any Empire over their Minds, which ought to make up the nobleſt part of their Dominions.

But as Envy is the inſeparable Companion of Vertue; and a great Reputation is often more dangerous than a bad one; this pompous Reception of the Prince of *Orange* added to the Authority his great Birth, Experience, and Merit gained him in the *States* and in the Hearts of the People, procured him the Jealouſy of many Lords and Gentlemen of Quality; the chief of whom were the Duke *Arſchot* newly made Governour of *Flanders*, the Marqueſs of *Havret* his Brother, the Count *de Lalain* and his Brother, the Siegneur *de Montigny*, the Viſcount of *Ghent*, Count *Egmont*, the Sieurs *de Compigny*, *de Raſſinguem*, and *de Sueveguem*, and many others: This jealous Party diſpatched privately the Sieur *de Malſtede* to offer the Governmen

ment of the *Low-Countries* to the Archduke *Matthias* Brother to the Emperor *Rodolphus*. He made ſo much haſt, and preſſed the Archduke ſo ſtrongly to depart, that he was arrived at *Cologne* from *Vienna* before 'twas known that they had ſent for him.

Theſe Gentlemen imagined that they ſhould have all the Management of the Government under the Archduke, who would conſider them as the Authors of his Eſtabliſhment; and at the ſame time ſhould ruine the Authority of the Prince of *Orange* by giving him a Superiour of that Quality.

But the Prince of *Orange*, who had the Art of Complying with all Times, and turning Poiſon into Antidotes, made a Modeſt Complement to the *States General* for not acqnainting him with ſo important a Reſolution as they had taken of ſending for the *Archduke*; whereas nothing ought to be tranſacted without the common Conſent of all, eſpecially Matters of ſuch Conſequence. But he made no Oppoſition to the Reception or Eſtabliſhment of the *Archduke*. Then having brought over to his party the Count *de Lalain* who had the chief Command of the Army, he managed Matters ſo well by his Addreſs and Submiſſions that he gained the *Archduke* who was made Governour of the *Netherlands* upon certain Conditions; and he himſelf was declared *Lieutenant-General* by majority of Voices in the *States*; and the Archduke in conſideration of his great Abilities truſted him with the intire Management of

of Affairs. In this manner the Prince of *Orange* by his good Conduct and Prudence, turn'd that Storm upon his Enemies, which they raiſed with Deſign to ruin him. For the Duke of *Arſchot*, the head of the Faction, had the Mortification to be ſeized in the Capital City of his Government (*Ghent*) by a Creature of the Prince of *Orange* (*Rikove*) who bore the greateſt Sway in that large City: And to make his Grief the more ſenſible, his beſt Friends, the Biſhops of *Bruges* and *Ypres*, and the Sieurs *de Reſſinguem* and *de Suevenguein*, and many others of his Dependants, were ſeiz'd on at the ſame time.

Don John of *Auſtria*, having been declar'd Enemy of the *Low-Countries* by the *States-General* the 7th of *September*, 1577. recall'd all the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Troops who had retired out of the *Netherlands*, in purſuance to the perpetual Edict. with a great Body of *Germans* under the Command of *Alexander Farneze* Duke of *Parma*, Son to *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, formerly Governeſs of the *Netherlands*. With this Reinforcement the laſt day of *January*, *An. Dom.* 1578. he defeated the Army of the *States*, at *Gemblours*, commanded by the Sieur *de Goiguin* in the Abſence of the Count *de Lalain* and the principal Officers who were at a Wedding in *Bruſſels*; for which they were extreamly cenſured. All the Cannon was taken, with 30 Colours and 4 Cornets. But the Reduction of the Famous City of *Amſterdam*, which ſurrender'd to the *States*, and was united to the Body

of *Holland*, the 8th of *February* following, eight days after the Defeat, made ſufficient amends for this Loſs.

Don John, encouraged by this great Succeſs, and hoping that this Victory would be the Inſtrument of another, advanced with great Forces to attack the Army of the *States* at *Rimenant* near *Malines* commanded by the Count *de Boſſut*. But the Count had intrenched himſelf ſo ſtrongly, that *Don John* was obliged to retire in great Confuſion, and conſiderable Loſs: And 'twas agreed on by all Hands, that if the Count *de Boſſut* had marched out of his Camp he would have intirely defeated *Don John*, who had a Crucifix in his Colours with this Motto; *With this Sign I have beaten the* Turks, *and with This I will beat the Hereticks.*

In *July* the *States-General* conſented to a Toleration of both Religions in the Provinces, which was called the *Peace of Religion*, which all Men were not ſatisfied with; by this means a Third Party ſprung up, called the *Malecontents*; the principal of which were *Emanuel de Lalain*, Baron *de Montigny*, the Viſcount of *Ghent*, Governour of *Artois*, *Valentine de Pardieu*, Sieur *de la Motte* Governour of *Gavelines*, the Baron *de Capres*, and others. Thus the Provinces of *Artois* and *Hainault* returned to the Obedience of the King, notwithſtanding all the Remonſtrances which the *States* made to them by Letters and Deputies.

About

About this time the *States* coined Money with the Bodies of Count *Horn* and Count *Egmont*, and their Heads upon Stakes on one ſide, and on the reverſe two Horſemen and two Footmen fighting, with this Inſcription, *præſtat pugnare pro patriâ quam ſimulatâ pace decipi*; *It is better to fight for our Country, than be deceived by a feigned peace.*

The *Malecontents*, to ſecure themſelves againſt the *States*, deſired that the Foreign Troops might be recalled into the *Netherlands*, contrary to the Pacification of *Ghent*, and the perpetual Edict. On the other ſide the *States*, in order to their Defence, treated with the Duke of *Alencon*, whom they call'd *the Defender of the* Belgick *Liberty*, upon condition that he ſhould ſupply them with 10000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, paid at his own Charge. This Treaty was concluded by the Means of the Queen of *Navarre* his Siſter, who in her Journey to the *Spaw*-Waters, had drawn over a great number of Men to the party of her Brother, whom ſhe loved ſo tenderly; among others the Count *de Lalain*, and the Sieur *D' Enchy* Governour of *Cambray*.

A. D. 1578. in *September* died *Don John* of *Auſtria*, in the Camp at *Namur*, of Grief for being ſuſpected in *Spain*, where his Secretary had been Aſſaſſinated, or of Poyſon as many are of Opinion.

Immediately after died the Count *de Boſſut* General of the *States*; who after his Death, deſired Mr. *de la Nove Bras de fer*, in Conſi-

deration of his Reputation, Valour, Conduct and Experience in War, to take upon him the Charge of *Mareſchal de Camp* of their Army.

Alexander Farneze Prince of *Parma*, ſucceeded *Don John* in the Government of the *Low Countries*, and by his Civility, and obliging Carriage to all Men, added to the great Promiſes he made, ſtrengthened the Party of the Male-Contents, and weakened the power of the *States*.

About this time, the 22d. of *January*, *A. D.* 1579. the Prince of *Orange* laid the firſt Foundation of the Commonwealth of the united Provinces, by the ſtrict Union which he made at *Utrecht*, between the Provinces of *Gueldres*, *Zutphen*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friezland*, and the *Ommelands*, conſiſting of Twenty ſix Articles, the chief of which were theſe,

The Provinces made an Alliance againſt the common Enemy, and promiſed mutually to aſſiſt each other, and never to treat of Peace, or War but by common Conſent. And all this without prejudice to the Statutes, Privileges, and Cuſtoms of every particular Province: Which Article was broken under the Government of Prince *Maurice*, when the *States General* aſſumed a Juriſdiction over all the Subjects of the Provinces, who till that time had no other Lords than the particular *States* of the Province. This Treaty was called the Union of *Utrecht*, becauſe 'twas made in that City. It was ratified by all the Governours of the Provinces, and the *States* to ſhow how neceſ-

ſary

ſary a perfect Union was to their Preſervation, took thoſe words of *Micipſa* in *Saluſt* for their device. *Concordiâ res parvæ creſcunt, little Things become great by Concord.*

That Year *Maeſtricht* was taken by Storm by the Duke of *Parma*, after a Siege of four Months, and a Treaty of Peace was ſet afoot at *Cologne* by the Mediation of the Emperor *Rodolphus*, but the King of *Spain*, refuſing to grant a Toleration of Religion in the *Netherlands*, though it had been allowed in *France* and *Germany*, the deſign did not take effect.

Under the Government of the Duke of *Parma*, many Actions paſſed between the Male-Contents, and the Troops of the States commanded by Mr. *de la Nove*, who ſurprized *Ninove* in *Flanders* and took in their Beds Count *Egmont*, his Wife, and Mother with Count *Charles* his Brother, and carried them Priſoners to *Ghent*, where the People, as they paſſed through the Streets, threw Dirt upon them, and treated them with a thouſand Indignities and abuſes, upbraiding them with abandoning their Country, to joyn with the Executioners of their Fathers.

But Monſieur *de la Nove* after great Succeſs, was ſurprized himſelf with the few Men he had with him, by the Viſcount of *Ghent* and Marqueſs of *Risbourg*. The Cauſe of this Accident was the Sieur *de Marquette's* not obeying Monſieur *de la Nove's* Orders in breaking down the Bridge which led to him. By order of the Duke of *Parma* he was carried Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Limburg*, where

he was barbarously treated by the *Spaniards*, who offered to set him at Liberty, provided they might put out his Eyes. From whence 'tis visible how apprehensive they were of this great Captain. At last, after a long Imprisonment, he was exchang'd upon Count *Egmont*'s Swearing never more to bear Arms against *Spain*, of which the Duke of *Lorrain* and many other Lords and Princes were Guarrantees.

Besides his great Skill in the Art of War, which is celebrated by all Historians, never was a Man of so clear and dis-interested a Vertue, which he gave continual proofs of during the whole Course of his Life; but among the rest one very remarkable Instance: Monsieur *de la Nove Bras de fer* was a Gentleman of *Bretaigne*, and had a Sister married to Monsieur *de Vezins*, a Man of Quality and Fortune in *Anjou*, who had by her a Son and two Daughters; this Sister had 20000 Crowns for her Fortune; but dying young, Monsieur *de Vezins* married a Woman who was one of her Attendants, by whom he had several Children: This *Megere*, after the Death of her Husband, desiring to secure to her Children the great Estate of the House of *Vezins*, could think of no more effectual way than by delivering the Children of the first Wife, her Mistress, to an *English* Merchant for a Sum of Money, upon Condition that she should never see them more. The Merchant carried them immediately to *Jersey* and *Guernsey*. No one knew what became of the Daughters;

Daughters; but the Foreign Merchant, having more good Nature than the Mother in Law, took pity of the Boy, and brought him with him to *London*, where he bred him up, and taught him the Trade of a Shoomaker. This Boy, when he was grown up, travelling up and down the Country, happened to be in *Flanders* at the time that Monſieur *de la Nove* commanded the Army of the *States*, and bringing him ſome Shooes, Monſieur *de la Nove*, having narrowly view'd him, told thoſe that were about him, that this young Lad had much of the Air, Stature and Mien of his Brother in Law *de Vezins*. Though he was expoſed at the Age of 4 or 5 years, he ſtill retained ſome memory of his Name, his Country, and what he was; and told him that his Name was *Vezins*, and that he was a *French* Man by Birth. But the great Buſineſs of Monſieur *de la Nove* hinder'd him from making further Enquiry into the Matter at that time. Some years after, being releaſed from his Impriſonment at *Limburg*, and retiring to *Geneva*, this ſame young Man who travelled over the World, as Apprentices do, once more meeting him when he had no Affairs, after having very well examined him, and, beſides the general Reſemblance, diſcovered ſome particular Marks which thoſe of the Family *de Vezins* bore, he reſolved to make him be acknowledged Heir of that Houſe; and in order to it, contrary to his own Intereſt, made all the neceſſary Proceedings in *Anjou*, at the Council and

Parliament for the recovery of the Eſtate; but being kill'd at *Lambette* in *Bretaigne* with a Muſquet-Ball, before the Affair was compleated, his Son *Odel de la Nove*, (whom I have ſeen in my youth) Embaſſador extraordinary into *Holland*, a Man that purſued the generous Example of his Father, put an end to the Proceſs; and by a famous Decree made him be declared Heir of the Houſe of *Vezins*, which the Children of his cruel Mother in Law had ſo long uſurped. Theſe Heroick Actions of the Father and Son can never be ſufficiently praiſed, which the curious Reader will be glad to learn; and the Example of ſo rare a Vertue may Spur on a generous Mind to an Emulation of ſuch noble Performances.

In this time the Prince of *Orange* who had been made Governour of *Flanders*, was at *Ghent*, where he altered the Magiſtrates of the City; erected contrary to their Privileges by the Violence of *John Imbeſe* a turbulent daring Fellow, who had at that time the chief Authority of the City. *Imbeſe* retired into *Germany* to Prince *Caſimir Palatine*, who had formerly brought ſuch a great Body of Horſe to the Aſſiſtance of the *States*, that they had much more been haraſs'd and inconvenienc'd by them than relieved or defended. But he returned again to *Ghent* and domineered there for ſome time with a Guard of 30 Halberdiers who ſtill accompanied him; but in the end a contrary Faction ſetting up againſt him, as nothing is more changeable

than

than the Affections of the People, he was arreſted, tryed and beheaded.

An. Dom. 1580. the Prince of *Orange* repreſented to the *States-General*, that Conſidering the Deſertion of ſome Provinces, and the Falling off of a great many Men who quitted their Party to reconcile themſelves to *Spain*, by the means of the Duke of *Parma*; they could no longer defend themſelves againſt ſo powerful an Enemy; and that they were obliged either to make an Accommodation with *Spain*, which he would never adviſe them to do, when they could have no Security for their Lives or Religion; or elſe to chuſe ſome neighbouring Prince for their Lord, and that he could think of none more proper than the Duke of *Anjou* and *Alencon* only Brother to *Henry* the III. King of *France*. Which Reſolution the *States* approving of they ſent Deputies into *France*; the moſt conſiderable of whom was *Philip de Mornix*, Seigneur *de S. Aldegonde*, who made a Treaty with him in *September An. Dom.* 1580. at the Caſtle of *Pleſſis les tours*. The Heads of which were, *That the* States *of* Holland, Brabant, Flanders, Zealand, Utrecht *and* Friezland, *would acknowledge him for their Sovereign Prince, and his Poſterity after him, upon Condition that he ſhould leave Matters of Religion in the ſame Poſture they were in at that time; and preſerve the Privileges of the Provinces That he ſhould hold an Aſſembly of the* States-General *every year, who nevertheleſs ſhould have power to meet when they pleaſed. That he ſhould put*

no

no Man into any Employment, Place, or Government of the Provinces without their Conſent. And that if he invaded their Privileges and broke the Treaty, he ſhould forfeit his Right, and that they ſhould be abſolved from their Oath of Fidelity, and have power to elect a new Prince.

The Archduke ſeeing that there was no further Occaſion for his Preſence in the *Netherlands*, and that they were looking out for a more powerful Protection, withdrew, after having received Thanks and many Preſents, according to their Abilities and the Times, leaving behind him the Reputation of a good and moderate Prince: But his Enemies in the End made him ſuſpected of holding Intelligence with the *Spaniards*.

The Prince of *Orange* with all his Power ſollicited the coming of the Duke of *Alencon*, to ſupport himſelf and his Country with ſo conſiderable a Prince; but more particularly becauſe in *June* 1580. the King had publiſhed a terrible Proſcription againſt him, in which he upbraids him with the Favours he had received from the Emperor; among others, for having ſecured to him the Succeſſion of *René de Naſſaw* and *de Chalon* Prince of *Orange*: That he had made him Governour of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and *Burgundy*, Knight of the Golden-Fleece, and Councellor of State: That though he was a Stranger, he had loaded him with Honours and Riches, for which he made him very ungrateful Returns. That by his Inſtigation the

the Nobility had preſented the Addreſs againſt the Inquiſition: That he had introduced the New Religion into the *Low-Countries*, and diſturb'd the Catholick Religion, by the breaking of Images, and demoliſhing Altars: That he had made War upon his *Lord*: That he had oppoſed all the Pacifications, even that of *Ghent*, and broken the perpetual Edict; that, in ſhort, he declared him an ungrateful Man, a Rebel, a Diſturber of the publick Peace, a Heretick, a Hypocrite, a *Cain*, a *Judas*, one that had a hardned Conſcience, a profane Wretch, who had taken a Nun out of the Cloiſter to marry her, and had Children by her, a wicked and perjur'd man, the Head of the Troubles of the *Netherlands*, the Plague of Chriſtendom, the common Enemy of Mankind: That he out-law'd him, and gave his Life, his Body and Eſtate to him that could ſeize on it; and to free the World from his Tyranny, he promis'd, upon the Word of a King, and as a Servant of God Almighty, to give 25000 Crowns to any man that ſhould bring him alive or dead to him, and beſides a free Pardon and Indemnity of all his Crimes; and to make him a Gentleman, in caſe he was not ſo before. He declared all his Adherents to have forfeited their Nobility, Eſtate and Honour, if within a Month after the Publication of this Out-law'ry they did not leave him and return to their Duty.

In *December* following the Prince of *Orange* publiſhed his Apology, which is a very long, eloquent,

eloquent and handſome Piece, and read it publickly in the Aſſembly of the *States-General*. The Prince made a Diſcovery of a great many Secrets which 'twas the King's Intereſt never to have had known. Kings have not ſo much Advantage in Defending themſelves againſt their Subjects with their Pens as their Swords, and for that Reaſon the King made no Anſwer to it; but becauſe this Apology is very conſiderable, 'tis proper to put down the Subſtance of it.

After having ſubmitted his Life and Conduct to the Conſideration of the *States*, he ſays, He was forc'd, contrary to his Nature and Cuſtom, to diſcover ſome Indecencies which he would very willingly have concealed; and, if they had not loaded him with Injuries and Abuſes, he would have only anſwered the Proſcription, which he would have made appear unjuſt and without any Foundation. That his Enemy who made it, and the Duke of *Parma* who publiſhed it, not being able to kill him by Poiſon or Sword, endeavour to blot his Reputation by the Venom of their Tongues.

As for the Obligations they reproach'd him with, he owns to have received a great deal of Honour from the Emperor, *Charles* the V. who bred him up 9 years in his Chamber; and that his Memory (theſe are his own Words) will be for ever honoured by him; but at the ſame time he is obliged to juſtifie his own Innocence, to declare that he never received

received any Advantages from the Emperor, but, on the contrary, ſuffered great Loſſes in his Service.

That he could not deprive him of the Succeſſion to *Renè de Naſſaw* and *de Chalons* Prince of *Orange* his Couſin-german, whoſe ſole Heir he was without a manifeſt Injury, unleſs they reckon the not ſeizing upon another Man's Right to be a Liberality.

That he was ſo far from having received any Advantages from him, that on the contrary, the Emperor, for the good of his own Affairs, being preſſed on one hand by the Proteſtant Princes, and on the other by the King of *France*, had by the Treaty of *Naſſaw* diſpoſed at his Expence of the County of *Catzenellebogen* in favour of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, though it had been adjudged to him by the Imperial Chamber at *Spires*, with above two millions of Arrears, and the Emperor had taken no care to reſtore Prince *Renè* of *Naſſaw*, his Couſin-german, to the Poſſeſſion of the third Part of the Dutchy of *Juliers* which belong'd to him by their Grandmother *Margaret* Counteſs *de la Mark*, though he had gained the Victory by the Valour of that Prince.

That the King had deprived him of the Poſſeſſion of the Seigniory *de Chartel velin*, (for which there was due to him above 350000 Livres) by bringing the Cauſe to be tryed in his Council, when it was to be judged by the Parliament at *Molines*; and it has ever ſince continued undecided. Which he

he mentions to ſhow the World who ought to be taxed with Ingratitude, he or the King.

That he had ſpent above 500000 Crowns in the Embaſſy he made, againſt his Will, to the Emperor *Ferdinand*; and when he was Hoſtage in *France* for the Peace of *Cambray*; and that year when he commanded the Imperial Army, and built *Charlemont* and *Philipville* in ſight of the *French* Generals; in all which time he only received 300 Florins a Month, which would not pay for the pitching his Tents.

That, quite contrary, thoſe of his Family had ſpent great Eſtates, and expoſed their Lives freely in the Service of the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; that *Engilbert* the ſecond Count of *Naſſaw*, his Great Grandfather, being Governour of the *Netherlands* for the Emperor *Maximilian* the I. had ſecured him theſe Provinces by the gaining of a Victory.

That Count *Henry* of *Naſſaw*, his paternal Uncle, prevail'd upon the Electors to preferr *Charles* of *Auſtria*, Grandſon of *Maximilian*, to *Francis* the I. King of *France*, and put the Imperial Crown upon his Head.

That *Philibert de Chalon* Prince of *Orange*, had conquered *Lombardy*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, for the Emperor; and that by the taking of *Rome* and *Clement* the VII. his Enemy, he had gained him vaſt Honour and Renown.

That

That the Nephew of this *Philibert*, *René de Naſſaw* and *de Chalon*, his Couſin-german, was killed at the Emperor's Feet before St. *Dizier* after having repaired the Loſs of a Battel and conquered the Dutchy of *Gueldres*.

That if the Houſe of *Naſſaw* had had no Being in the World, and had not done ſuch great Exploits before the King was born, he could never have been able to put ſo many Titles, Countries and *Seigneuries*, in the Front of that infamous Proſcription, which declares him a Traitor and a Villain, Crimes which none of his Family had ever been guilty of.

That for ſo many Expences, and ſignal Services of his Family, they could not ſhew the leaſt Mark of Acknowledgment from the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

That the Kings of *Hungary* had given to his Predeceſſor as a perpetual Proof of their Valour in defending them from the Invaſion of the Infidels, ſeveral Pieces of Artillery, which were carried away by Force, out of his Caſtle of *Breda* when the Duke of *Alva* tyranniz'd in the *Low Countries*.

When the King reproaches him with having made him Governour of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht* and *Burgundy*, Knight of his Order, and Councellor of State, he anſwers, That if he ought to thank any one for that, 'tis the Emperor *Charles* V. who at his Departure for *Spain*, had ſo appointed it in conſideration of his great Services.

That the King himſelf had forfeited his Pretenſions to that *Order*, by breaking the Statutes (which

(which expreſsly enjoyn, that no Knight can be tryed but by his Peers) in Condemning the Counts *Egmont*, *Horn*, *de Bergues*, and *Montigny*, by Raſcals, and Men of no Birth or Merit.

That the Government of *Burgundy* belonged to him hereditarily, the Houſe of *Chalon* having all along enjoyed it without Contradiction. And as for the Employment of a Councellor of State, he obtained that by the Policy of Cardinal *Granville* who ſcreen'd himſelf from the People by the Authority of the Prince, in whom they repoſed an intire Credit and Confidence.

When the King, to render him odious, charges him with Marrying a Nun, he anſwers, That Slanderers ought to be free from all Blame, and that 'tis an unaccountable Impudence in the King to reproach him with a lawful Marriage, and agreeable to the Word of God; whereas the King is all covered over with Crimes. He maintains that he was actually married to *Donna Iſabella Oſorio*, and had three Children by her, when he married the Infanta of *Portugal*, Mother to *Don Carlos*.

That he murthered his own Son for ſpeakiing in Favour of the *Low-Countries*; and poiſoned his third Wife *Iſabella* of *France*, Daughter to *Henry* the II. King of *France*, in whoſe Life-time he publickly kept *Donna Eufratia*, whom he forced the Prince of *Aſcoti* to marry when ſhe was big with Child by him, that his Baſtard might inherit the great

Eſtate

Eſtate of this Prince, who died of Grief, if not (ſays the Prince) of a Morſel more eaſy to ſwallow than digeſt.

That afterwards he was not aſhamed to commit publick Inceſt in marrying his own Niece, Daughter to *Maximilian* the Emperor and his Siſter. But, *ſays the King*, I had a Diſpenſation. Ay, *ſays the Prince*, only from the God on Earth; for the God of Heaven would never have granted it: Theſe are the very Words of the Prince.

That it was as ſtrange as inſupportable, that a Man blacken'd with Adultery, Poiſoning, Inceſt, and Parricide, ſhould make a Crime of a Marriage approved of by Monſieur *de Montpenſier* his Father-in-law, a more zealous Catholick than the *Spaniards* are with all their Grimaces and Pretenſions.

That if his Wife had made Vows in her tender Age, which is contrary to the Canons and Decrees, according to the Opinion of the ableſt Men; *And though ſhe had never made any Proteſtations againſt it*, He was not ſo little vers'd in the Holy Scriptures, but He knew that all Bonds and Engagements entred into meerly upon the Score of Intereſt, had no Force before God.

To that Article, where the King calls him a Stranger, he anſwers, That his Anceſtors had poſſeſſed for many Ages Counties and Baronies in *Luxemburg*, *Brabant*, *Holland* and *Flanders*; and that thoſe who have Eſtates in the Provinces have ſtill been reckoned Natives.

That the King is a Stranger as well as himſelf, being born in *Spain*, a Country which bears a natural Averſion to the *Low-Countries*; and he in *Germany*, a neighbouring Country and Friend of the *Provinces*. But (ſays the Prince) they'll ſay he is King; to which he anſwers, Then let him be King in *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, *Naples*, the *Indies*, and *Jeruſalem*, and in *Africk* and *Aſia*, if he pleaſe; that for his part he will acknowledge but a *Duke* and a *Count*, whoſe Power is limited by the Privileges of the Provinces, which the King has ſworn to obſerve.

That he muſt let the *Spaniards* know, if they are not acquainted with it already, that the Barons of *Brabant*, when their Princes go beyond Bounds, have often ſhown them what their Power was. He ended this Diſcourſe by ſaying, That 'twas ſtrange that they had the Impudence to charge him with being a Stranger, in regard his Predeceſſors were Dukes of *Gueldres*, and Owners of great Poſſeſſions in the Provinces, when the King's Anceſtors were only Counts of *Hapsburg*, living in *Switzerland*, and their Family was not known in the World.

The Prince maintains that the Deſign of the *Spaniards* was always to enſlave the *Netherlands* and erect a tyrannical Government, as they have done in the *Indies*, *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Milan*. That the Emperor *Charles* the V. being acquainted with it, repreſented to King *Philip*, in his Preſence, and the old Count

Count of *Boſſut* and many others; That if he did not curb the Pride of the *Spaniards* he would be the Ruin of the *Netherlands*. But that neither the paternal Authority, nor the Intereſt of his Affairs, nor Juſtice, nor his Oath, which is ſacred among the *Barbarians*, could bridle his unbounded Paſſion of Tyrannizing.

That the Country granted a conſiderable Supply of Money, with which and the Courage of the Nobility of theſe Provinces, having won two famous Battles, and taken a great number of Priſoners of the higheſt Quality in *France*, he concluded a Peace at *Cambray*, as Profitable to himſelf as Diſadvantageous to his Enemies. That if the King had any Gratitude remaining he could not deny but that he was one of the principal Inſtruments in bringing it about; having managed it in particular, with the *Conſtable de Montmorency*, and the *Mareſchal de St. Andre*, by the King's Orders, who aſſured him that he could not do a more grateful piece of Service to him, than by effecting a Peace, at a time when he was reſolved to go into *Spain* upon any Terms.

But theſe Supplies of Money, and this great Succeſs obtained by the Blood of their Nobility, were reckoned Crimes of High-Treaſon, becauſe nothing would be granted, but on Condition the *States-General* ſhould meet, and the promis'd Subſidies paſs through the Hands of Commiſſaries of the Provinces, to clip the Wings of theſe Harpies, *Barlay-*

mont and others like him. And these as he assures, are the two great Crimes, which created that implacable Hatred in the King and Council to the *Low-Countries*.

The first of these Crimes was the Demand of an Assembly of the *States-General*; who are as much hated by bad Princes for bridling their Tyranny, as they are loved and reverenced by good Kings the true Fathers of their Country, who consider them as the most sure Foundation of a State, and the true support of Soveraigns.

The second is the Demand they made of having Commissioners of the Provinces for managing the Subsidies; the Prince affirming that these Devourers of the People reckon their Robberies and Cheatings a better Revenue than that of their Lands. That seeing themselves out of Condition any longer to enrich themselves at the Expence of the publick with Indempnity; they look out for all Pretences, by flattering their Princes, to incense them and set them at odds with their Subjects. He concluded this Article by assuring the *States-General* to whom he addresses himself all along) that he has seen their Actions, heard their Discourses, and been Witness of those Counsels, whereby they designed to make a general Massacre of them, as they had practised in the *Indies*, where they had destroyed thirty times more People than are in the *Low-Countries*.

To that part of the Charge where the King accuses him of gaining the Hearts of all those

thoſe who deſired Innovation, particularly thoſe who were ſuſpected of the Reformed Religion, by his private Intrigues; and of being the Author of the Requeſt againſt the *Inquiſition*. He owns that he was always of the Reformed Religion in his Heart, which had been eſtabliſhed by his Father *William* Count of *Naſſaw* in his Dominions. That he heard the King of *France*, *Henry* the II. ſay, when he was Hoſtage in *France*, that the Duke of *Alva* was then treating with him to root out all the Proteſtants of *France*, the *Low-Countries*, and all Chriſtendom beſides. That they had reſolved to eſtabliſh the mercileſs *Inquiſition*; the Severity of which was ſuch, that the looking a-ſquint upon an Image was Crime enough to deſerve burning. That he could not ſuffer that ſo many good Men and Lords of his Acquaintance ſhould be deſign'd for the Slaughter; which made him firmly reſolve utterly to extirpate this curſed Race of Men, and that if he had been well ſeconded in ſo juſt and generous a Deſign there would have been nothing left to preſerve the Memory of the *Spaniards* but their Bones and their Graves.

As for the Addreſs which they make a Crime of, he thinks it as advantageous to his own Credit and Honour, as to the King's Service, and the Intereſt of the Provinces, to have adviſed the preſenting it, as a certain method to divert the Deluge of theſe infinite Diſorders which afterwards happened. And as for the Proteſtant Sermons, he adviſed

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To that part of the Charge where the King accuses him of gaining the Hearts of all those

those who desired Innovation, particularly those who were suspected of the Reformed Religion, by his private Intrigues; and of being the Author of the Request against the *Inquisition*. He owns that he was always of the Reformed Religion in his Heart, which had been established by his Father *William* Count of *Nassaw* in his Dominions. That he heard the King of *France*, *Henry* the II. say, when he was Hostage in *France*, that the Duke of *Alva* was then treating with him to root out all the Protestants of *France*, the *Low-Countries*, and all Christendom besides. That they had resolved to establish the mercilesse *Inquisition*; the Severity of which was such, that the looking a-squint upon an Image was Crime enough to deserve burning. That he could not suffer that so many good Men and Lords of his Acquaintance should be design'd for the Slaughter; which made him firmly resolve utterly to extirpate this curs'd Race of Men, and that if he had been well seconded in so just and generous a Design there would have been nothing left to preserve the Memory of the *Spaniards* but their Bones and their Graves.

As for the Address which they make a Crime of, he thinks it as advantageous to his own Credit and Honour, as to the King's Service, and the Interest of the Provinces, to have advised the presenting it, as a certain method to divert the Deluge of these infinite Disorders which afterwards happened. And as for the Protestant Sermons, he advised

Madam *de Parma* to permit them, things being in such a posture that they could not be hindered without a manifest danger of the entire Subversion of the Government.

When the King says that the Care and Providence of Madam *de Parma* was so great, that he was obliged to quit the *Netherlands*; he owns that the Charge would be true, if his Treachery and Disloyalty had been the Cause of it; but that, a year before, he would willingly have retired and surrendred all his Employments. When he saw that Monsieur *de Bergues* and *Montigny* had lost their Lives in *Spain*, and Gibbets were erected, and Fires kindled all over the Country, he thought it high time to put himself in a place of Security, without trusting to the King's Letters, full of fair Promises and Offers, the better to deceive him.

That they had fallen upon his Person and Estate. That neither the Consideration of the Privileges of the University of *Louvain*, nor the Province of *Brabant*, could hinder them from carrying his Son Prisoner into *Spain*: And that by so rigorous and unjust a Treatment he was absolved from all his Oaths, and had good Ground to make War upon his Enemy; which was objected to him as a Crime.

That the King laid nothing to his Charge, but what his Predecessor *Henry* of *Castile* had been guilty of: who tho' a Bastard rebell'd against his lawful Prince *Don Pedro* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and kill'd him with his own hand.

If

If the King anſwers, that *Don Pedro* was a Tyrant, and that he poſſeſſed *Caſtile* only by that Title; wherefore, ſays the Prince, ſhould not the King of *Spain* be uſed in the ſame manner; for there never was a Tyrant who ſubverted the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Country with more Arrogance, or broke his Oath with more Impudence than King *Philip*. And that at leaſt *Don Pedro* was neither guilty of Inceſt, nor a Parricide, nor a Murtherer of his Wife: And though he was born the King's Subject, and ſhould take up Arms againſt him, 'twas no more than *Albert* the firſt Duke of *Auſtria*, formerly Count of *Hapsburg*, his Predeceſſor, had done againſt the Emperor *Adolphus* of *Naſſaw*, his Lord, one of the Prince's Anceſtors.

The Prince affirms, that there is an original, mutual Contract between the Dukes of *Brabant* and their Vaſſals; that they owe Obedience to their Prince, who, on his ſide, is bound to preſerve their Privileges; the chief of which are, That the Dukes cannot change the Conſtitution of the Province by any Decree; That they are to be ſatisfied with their ordinary Revenue; That they can lay no new Impoſitions, nor bring any Troops into the Province without the Conſent of the *States*; nor alter the Price of Money; nor impriſon any man without the Information of the Magiſtrate of the place, nor ſend him out of the Country. The Lords of the Provinces are obliged by their Oath to maintain and aſſert theſe Privileges; becauſe by their

Prerogative they have the Charge of the Militia, and the Arms of the Province; and not doing it they are to be accounted Perjur'd, and Enemies of their Country. That the King has not violated only one of these Privileges, but all, and many times over. He has seiz'd upon his Estates, his Dignities, and his Son, contrary to his Immunities. That for this Reason he was absolved from his Oath of Allegiance, and by Consequence had a right to defend himself by Force of Arms; and above all, because the King would never redress and make Amends for his Faults, having rejected the Intercessions of the Emperor *Maximilian*, and the Petitions of his Subjects who deputed to him the principal Lords of the *Netherlands*, which he put to Death by the Hands of the Hangman against the Law of Nations, as he had served all others whom he could seize on by his Artifices, and who were too credulous, in believing his false Promises.

This abundantly justifies the Prince for taking up Arms for his own and his Country's Preservation; and if he could not take footing in the *Netherlands* at his first Entry, as the King reproaches to him, 'twas no more than what had happened to the greatest Generals, and to the King himself, who has often invaded *Holland* and *Zealand*, and been driven shamefully out without being able to make himself Master of one Inch of Ground. And in regard, by his Oath, he dispenses with his Subjects from obeying him if he acts contrary to the Laws, why is he so impudent

dent to ſay that the Prince has taken up Arms againſt him unjuſtly.

To that Article in which the King ſays he returned into *Holland* and *Zealand* by Bribery and Corrupting the Inhabitants; he makes anſwer, that he went there at the Inſtance and Sollicitation of the principal Men of the Province, which he is able to make appear by their Letters.

When the King accuſes him of having perſecuted the Church-men, driven out the Catholicks, and baniſhed that Religion; he replies, That all this had been done by a common Conſent, to preſerve their Lives and Privileges againſt Men who had taken an Oath to the Pope, and were ſetting all Engines a-work to ſubvert their Liberties, and the newly-eſtabliſhed Religion: Which was repreſented at the Treaty of Peace at *Breda*, where this Article of Religion was confirmed by the Decree and Seal of all the Cities, and that 'twas not fair to impute that to him, which was done by an unanimous conſent of the whole Country.

When he reproaches him for granting Liberty of Conſcience; he anſwers, that he had always been as averſe to the Burning ſo many Men as the Duke had taken pleaſure in it; and that he was of Opinion to put a Stop to all Perſecutions.

He ingenuouſly owns, that the King before the holding of the States at *Ghent*, and his Departure into *Spain*, had commanded him to put to Death many good Men ſuſpected

cted to favour the new Religion; but he never put these cruel Orders in Execution, but gave them notice of it, not being able to do it with a safe Conscience, and chusing rather to obey God than Man.

He says that they do him Wrong in laying the Murther of some Ecclesiasticks to his Charge; for he punished the Criminals with Death; and those who were of an illustrious Family, as the Count *de la Mark*, convicted of those Outrages, were condemned only to Imprisonment and loss of their Employments, in Consideration of their great Alliances.

To that Head wherein the King declares that he did not command the Duke of *Alva* to establish the Imposition of the 10th and 20th penny; he answers, That his not being punished for it, is sufficient Proof that he had Orders to do it. And that he cannot escape the Imputation of a Tyrant for Imposing this Tribute, or suffering so great a Boldness committed against his Will to go unpunished. He adds, that the Duke of *Alva* had too much Sense to dare settle so severe an Imposition without the express and reiterated Orders of the King; and that otherwise he would never have fined the Burgo-master of *Amsterdam* 25000 Florins for opposing the raising of this new Tax.

That the King would have done much better to preserve the Kingdom of *Tunis* and *Guletta*, which the Emperor had conquered from the *Turks*, and which he preferred to all his other Victories, than to make an unjust War upon

upon his own Subjects. But that his Paſſion and Fury had tranſported him ſo far, that his Eyes and Underſtanding were blinded, and hindred him from ſeeing the ill Meaſures he had taken: And that he choſe rather to expoſe his Weakneſs to his Subjects than employ his Forces againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendom. He adds, that as *Hannibal* had ſworn the Ruin of the *Romans* upon the Altars of his Gods, ſo the Duke of *Alva* had vowed the Deſtruction of the *Netherlands*; which is viſible from the Cruelties he committed there. That if a Maſter is known by his Servant, they might eaſily gueſs at the good Affection the King bare to the *Low-Countries* by the Tyranny of this unrelenting Miniſter.

When the King ſays, That the Pope diſpenſes with him from keeping his Oath; the Prince anſwers, That he does not conſider, that by breaking his Oath, at the ſame time his Subjects were abſolved from their Oath of Fidelity. He adds, That the Duke of *Alva* was preparing to hang the principal Men of *Bruſſels* for refuſing to ſubmit to the raiſing of the tenth Penny; and that the Hangman was ordered to get ready ſeventeen Ropes; that the *Dictum* of the Sentence was already writ, and the *Spaniſh* Soldiers going to their Arms to guard the Execution, when the happy News of the Taking of the *Brille* arrived, and ſaved them from the Gallows.

Speaking of the perpetual Edict, he ſays it was concluded by the Artifice of the *Spaniards*

niards contrary to his Advice, and that of the *States* of *Holland* and *Zealand*. That there was no other Difference between the Duke of *Alva* and the Commander *de Requeſens* and *Don John*; but that the laſt could not diſſemble as well as they, nor conceal his Venom ſo long. For 'tis undiſputable from the Letters which were intercepted, that he had the ſame Orders as the other Governours had to oppreſs the *Low-Countries*.

When they charge him with Breaking the Pacification of *Ghent* and the perpetual Edict; he anſwers, That 'twas the *Spaniards* that broke it, by reſtoring no man to the poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, or Charges, and by detaining the Priſoners. That the King had given Orders to *Don John* not to obſerve the Peace, as appears from the intercepted Letters, and that when he ſwore to it, 'twas on Condition that he would keep it till he repented of it, as he explained himſelf to ſome Deputies of the *States*. Thus the Peace of *Ghent* and the perpetual Edict being once violated, 'twas in the Power of the *States* to provide for their own Defence, by explaining, enlarging and altering the Treaty.

That he is extreamly concerned at the Inſolencies which the Soldiers committed in his Governments, though they were not to be compared with the intolerable Outrages of the *Spaniards*.

He Complains of the Treachery of many Lords and Gentlemen of the *Netherlands* who preferred their own private Intereſts, and the

Spaniſh

Spaniſh Tyranny, to the Good of their Country, which they have torn by their Diviſion, and might have rendred flouriſhing by their Union. Inveighing againſt the Infidelity of his falſe Brothers called *Male-contents*, he ſays, He cannot enough admire the Inconſtancy and the unſettledneſs of their Reſolutions. They ſerve the Duke of *Alva*, ſays he, and the Commander *Requeſens*, like Servants, and make a vigorous War upon me. Immediately after, They treat with me, are reconciled, and declare themſelves Enemies to the *Spaniards*; *Don John* arrives, they follow him and contrive my Ruin; when *Don John* miſcarries in his Attempt upon *Antwerp*, they quit him and recall me; I am no ſooner come, but, contrary to their Oath, without acquainting me with it, they call in the Archduke *Matthias*: And him too they immediately forſake; and without giving me notice, ſend for the Duke of *Anjou*, and promiſe him Wonders, and then abandon him and join with the Duke of *Parma*; upon which the Prince cries out, *Are the Waves of the Sea or the* Euripus *more inconſtant than theſe Men, who conſented to this Proſcription, when 'twas my Courage and Firmneſs that reſtored them to the Enjoyment of their Eſtates and Places!*

When they ſay that he got the Government of *Brabant* and *Flanders* by Intriguing and making Parties; he anſwers in a Word, That theſe Governments were conferred on him at the Deſire of the *States*, and by a general Approbation.

When

When they endeavour to make him odious, by saying that he loads the People with Impositions; he replies, That they are laid on by the Consent of the People, and if the King raises such excessive Taxes upon his Subjects to oppress *Holland* and *Zealand* and the other United Provinces, why should not they have the same Liberty allowed them, in order to defend themselves from the *Spanish* Tyranny.

When they blame him for turning out those Officers in the Cities who were well affected to the King; he says, That they were Enemies to the Country, and he did well to drive them out.

When the King taxes him with the Credit and Authority he had over the People, as a great Crime; he answers, that 'tis a great Honour to him that they have chosen him for their Defender against so cruel a Tyranny, which has kindled so just an Hatred and Aversion in all their Hearts.

When they reproach him with hating the Nobility; Yes, says the Prince, those who degenerating from their Ancestors, and not treading in their generous Steps, betray their Country, and join with those who endeavour its Ruin.

When the King says that the Peace treated at *Cologne* by the Mediation of the Emperor *Rodolphus*, was judged reasonable by all men of Sence; the Prince says, That it follows thence necessarily, that all those who think it unreasonable and deceitful, have neither Reason

ſon nor Judgment. For what Appearance is there, (continues he,) that a People harraſſed and impoveriſhed by ſo long a War, would refuſe an equitable Peace with their Prince, unleſs it appeared to be a Bait or a Blind only to ſurprize them? That this Peace projected at *Cologne* was worſe than War, and that the Honey of a treacherous Tongue is more dangerous than the Point of a Sword. That if the Emperor thought this a reaſonable Peace, he was perſwaded ſo by the Betrayers of their Country.

When they object to him the Union of *Utrecht*, which they reckon the worſt and greateſt of his Crimes; he anſwers, That the *Spaniards* like nothing that contributes to the Intereſts of the *States*; and what is wholeſome to the Oppreſſed, is mortal to the Favourers of Tyranny. That their Enemies had grounded all their Hopes upon their Diviſion; againſt which there is no ſuch Specifick as a Good Union, nor a more certain Antidote againſt Diſcord than Concord, which has prevented and made uſeleſs all their Intrigues and Intelligences. He owns that he was the Author of this Union; and ſpeaks it ſo loud, that he wiſhes that not only *Spain*, but all *Europe* may hear him. Upon which he exhorts the *States* to preſerve it, and to practice the Moral of the Bundle of Arrows tied together by one Band, which they bear in their Arms. Inſtead of bluſhing at it, he glories in an Action ſo conducive to the Preſervation of their Liberties.

When

When they upbraid him with driving out the Church-Men; he denies that he ever did ſo, till *George de Lalain*, Count *de Renneberg* Governour of *Freizland*, ſurprized *Groningen* by Treachery, and the Maſſacre of the principal Burghers, among others the Burgo-Maſter *Hillebrand*, a Man of the greateſt Authority in the City, having ſupped with him and careſſed him, the better to overreach him, the day before this infamous Surprizal. And that they could not reproach him, that in all the Troubles and Confuſions ſtirred up by the *Spaniards* he ever ſtained his Hands in the Blood of the Confederates, who relied on his Faith.

When he is accuſed of driving out ſome of the Nobility; he denies it, and declares that they retired voluntarily through the Terrour of their Conſciences, having openly contriv'd the Ruin of their Country; and, Wou'd to God, added the Prince, all they who are like them would follow them, to rid the Country of all Fear.

He ſays 'tis ridiculous to call him Hypocrite, who never diſſembled with the *Spaniards*. When he was their Friend he talked freely to them, and foretold them by Word of Mouth, and Writing, that thoſe rigorous Perſecutions would ruin them. That being forced to become their Enemy, to ſupport the Liberty of his Country, what Hypocriſy can they charge him with, unleſs they call Hypocriſy the making open War upon them, taking their Cities, driving them out of the

Country,

Country and acting againſt them with all the Vigour the Right of a juſt War entitles him to. That if they will take the Pains to read over his Defence, which he publiſhed 13 years ſince, to juſtify his Taking up Arms, they will ſee the Letters of a King, who is a Hypocrite and Diſſembler, who thought to ſurprize him with fair Words, as now he thinks to daunt him with Threats.

When King *Philip* calls the Prince of *Orange* Deſperate as *Cain* and *Judas*; he ſays 'tis a quite different thing, to diſtruſt the Grace of God who cannot Lye, and to ſuſpect the Words of a treacherous and deceitful Man: Witneſs the poor *Moors* of *Granada*; Count *Egmont*, *Horn* and many others. That the fall of *Cain* and *Judas* was Deſpair cauſed by the dreadful Sins they had been guilty of; to which State he was not yet reduced, his Conſcience upbraiding him with nothing. But the Style of a Man in Deſpair is viſible in this Heatheniſh and *Turkiſh* Proſcription.

When he accuſes him of Diſtruſt, and ſays it is an ordinary thing with wicked Men, he makes an Apoſtrophe to Cardinal *Granville* (whom he believed the Authour of this Proſcription) in theſe Terms: "And thou Cardi-
"nal, who haſt loſt ſo much time at the Col-
"lege, unleſs thou calleſt that Learning, to be
"trained up in thy Youth in the Arts of Lying
"and Deceiving, what anſwer canſt thou
"make to that ſententious Orator and Lover
"of his Country, when he ſays that Diſtruſt
"and Jealouſy is the ſtrongeſt Bulwark of Li-

" berty againſt Tyranny? Which was ſaid againſt another *Philip*, a puny Tyrant in compariſon of this *Dom Philip*, who has out-done the greateſt, and whoſe Tyranny the divine *Philippick* it ſelf is not able to expreſs. Conſider of it; and I for my part, ſays the Prince, will ſpeak, write and ingrave every where this fine and uſeful Sentence. And would to God, I may be better believed by my People than *Demoſthenes* was by his, who ſuffering themſelves to be impoſed on by ſuch Villains and Diſſemblers as thou art, were in the end utterly ruined.

When the King reproaches him with refuſing very advantageous Offers which were made him upon condition he would retire into *Germany*, and abandon the *States*; he ſays the *Spaniſh* Folly and Impertinence cannot be ſufficiently admired, who endeavouring to blacken and defame him, râiſe his Reputation, by owning that he preferrs the Safety of the *States*, and their Liberty, to his own Repoſe and Native Country. That he would willingly be freed from all his Troubles and Diſappointments, and enjoy his Eſtate and the Preſence of his Son in Peace. But ſince this could not be effected without perjuring himſelf, and betraying the *States*, violating his Faith, and abandoning them to the Cruelty of their mortal Enemies: No Conſideration of his Eſtate, his Life, Children or Wife ſhould prevail upon him to deliver them over a Prey to the *Spaniards*, to be worried and maſſacred by them. He concludes,

cludes, 'twas a very great Crime which they reproach'd him with, to be a Man of Honour and of unſhaken Firmneſs and Conſtancy, not to be wrought on by Threatnings nor Promiſes. And that on thoſe falſe Accuſations the King and *Spaniards* have grounded this barbarous Proſcription full of Calumnies, Abuſes, and inconceivable Imprecations, which he is no more frighted with than *Philibert* of *Orange* was with the Bull which Pope *Clement* the VII. thundered out againſt him; who for all that made him his Priſoner.

He declares to the *States* and all *Europe*, that whatever *Spaniard*, or whatever Man in the *Spaniſh* Intereſts ſays or ſhall ſay, as this Proſcription does, that he is a wicked Man and a Traitor, lyes, ſpeaks falſely and againſt the Truth. That though the *Spaniards* forbid him the uſe of Fire and Water, in ſpite of all their Rage he will live by the Aſſiſtance of his Friends as long as it pleaſes God, who alone has the Diſpoſal of Life and Death, and who has numbered all the Hairs of his Head. As for his Eſtates he hopes (God willing) that the Purchaſe of them will coſt the *Spaniards* ſo dear that they will be obliged to ſeek out others elſewhere at an eaſier rate. As for thoſe they wrongfully detain from him, he hopes to diſpoſſeſs them, and that they never uſurped the Poſſeſſions of a poor Prince who proved a greater Burthen to them.

When the King promiſes 25000 Crowns to any Man that ſhall bring him alive or

dead, to make him a Gentleman if not ſo before, with a full Pardon of all his Crimes how hainous ſoever; he anſwers, that if a Gentleman had been guilty of ſo villainous an Action, no man of Honour would eat or drink with the Wretch or endure his Preſence. That if the *Spaniards* reckon ſuch Men Noble, and if this is the ready way to Honour in *Caſtile*, no wonder all the World believes that the moſt part of the *Spaniſh* Nobility are deſcended from the *Moors*, and *Jews* who ſold our Saviour's Life for ready Money; and that they inherit the Vertue of their Anceſtors. Upon this Subject, the Prince writes that the Juſt God has taken away the King's Underſtanding, who by the ennobling of Villains and pardoning of the greateſt Crimes, would deſtroy the Defender of a People tyrannized over. That he has the Impudence to mix the Name of God with ſo many abominable Promiſes, though he calls himſelf *the Miniſter of God*, and aſſumes the power of not only permitting what God forbids, but of rewarding it with Money, Nobility, and indemnity of all their Offences.

The Prince concludes by a Perſuaſive of Union to the *States*, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be dazled with the falſe Praiſes the King gives thoſe who forſook them contrary to their Oath, to ſcatter Diviſion among them. His Enemy gives out that his Quarrel is only to the Prince of *Orange* as Author of all theſe Troubles and the War, which will laſt eternally ſo long as he lives, imitating the Wolves

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in the Fable, who publiſhed that their Deſign was only on the Dogs, (the Keepers and Guardians of the Flock) to devour afterwards the Sheep at their Leiſure. But for a Proof of the King's Diſſembling and his Cruelty, when he was abſent in *Germany* the Country was as much perſecuted as ever. As many were drown'd, hang'd and burn'd as before; and the Liberty of the Country was extreamly well maintained by their mild Governour the Duke of *Alva*. That the King's principal Deſign was to root out the Religion, the only bulwark of the State, without which it could not ſupport it ſelf three days: For they of the Reformed Religion could repoſe no Confidence in *Spaniards* or Papiſts.

He repeats once more, that Union and Religion may defend and protect them from all their Enemies, and concludes in theſe Words, *That he would willingly purchaſe their Eaſe and Repoſe at the Expence of his own Baniſhment or Death. That Exile and Death upon theſe Conditions would be grateful and agreeable. But if they thought his Life might contribute to the Defence of their Liberties, he offered them his Aſſiſtance, Induſtry, and Blood it ſelf, which he would ſpill to the laſt Drop in their Preſervation.*

The Prince of *Orange* would willingly have had the *States-General* publiſh this Apology in their Name. But ſome Provinces finding the Reflections on the King to be too ſevere and bitter, and not being acquainted with

the Crimes he imputed to the King, thought it not proper. They contented themſelves with declaring by a Decree, That the Prince of *Orange* was wrongfully accuſed, that he had accepted the Government at their earneſt Deſires; and offer'd to maintain a Troop of Horſe for the greater Security of his Perſon: Deſiring him to continue to defend their Liberties, and promiſing all Obedience and Deference to his Commands and Counſels, which they acknowledged to have no other aim but their Safety.

Not long after, *An. Dom.* 1581. the City and Caſtle of *Breda* were ſurprized by *Claude de Barlaymont* Count *de Hautepenne*, by the Means of the Baron *de Freſin* kept priſoner in the place by Order of the *States* upon Suſpicion of holding Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, the Truth of which he confirmed, as much a Priſoner as he was, by cauſing the City to be ſurprized by the Means of one Soldier, whom he had gained over to his Party. This was a great Loſs to the *States* and a ſenſible Affliction to the Prince, whoſe hereditary Eſtate this City and its Territories were. This is an Inſtance that a Priſoner ought never to be kept in a Frontier-Town, but in the Heart of the Country; for as they think of nothing but ſetting themſelves at Liberty, and all their Thoughts are bent that way, they are always contriving Methods and inventing Ways to bring it about; 'tis in effect Nouriſhing a Serpent in our Boſom, and there needs nothing more to take

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an Impregnable Fortreſs than the corrupting of a Centinel when the Enemy is in the Neighbourhood, who may come at the time appointed to Petard or Scale the place.

We ſhould have ſeen in our time a remarkable inſtance of a Surprize of this Nature, to the great Advantage of the Arms of *France*, if Hatred and Revenge had not born a greater Influence over the great Miniſter, than the Glory of his Maſter or the Good of his Kingdom: But this Myſtery has lain concealed hitherto, for fear of his Reſentment who governed all things with an abſolute Authority in the laſt years of the Life of Monſieur the Cardinal *de Richelieu*.

The Story is this; After the Defeat of *Honne Court*, in *May* 1642. *Don Franciſque de Mello* Governour of the *Low-Countries*, put ſeveral Priſoners of Quality, in the Caſtle of *Ghent*, to the Number of Seventy. The principal of whom were the Count *de Rantzau*, ſince *Mareſchal* of *France*, the Marqueſs *de Roquelaure* now Duke and Governour of *Guyenne*, the Marqueſs *de* St. *Maigrim* kill'd at the Battle of St. *Anthony*, and the Sieur *de Lalen* Captain in the Regiment of *Piedmont*, who died afterwards at *Cremona*, commanding the *French* Infantry of the Army of *Italy*. This Monſieur *de Lalen* was originally of *Lyons*, of mean Birth, but of extraordinary Valor and Fidelity, which might give him juſt Grounds to hope for the higheſt Employments of War. Monſieur *de Rantzau*, impatient in his Priſon, obtained Leave of the

Spaniards to ſend Monſieur *de Lalen* into *France* to propoſe ſome Exchange of Priſoners. But during his ſtay at Court, where the variety and multitude of Buſineſs hinders their ſpeedy Diſpatch, and where Monſieur *de Noyers*, who hated him, did not take much pains to get him his Liberty. Monſieur *de Rantzau*, tired with the long Stay of Monſieur *de Lalen*, and holding a ſecret Correſpondence with me by Letters, who did him all the good Offices at Court of which I was capable, upon the Account of the Eſteem and Friendſhip I had for him; he complained extreamly in all his Letters of Monſieur *de Lalen*'s being detained ſo long, at a time when his Preſence was neceſſary for a great Deſign, which he had projected. At length overcome by his Impatience he writ me a long Letter in Cyphers, part *French*, part *Latin*, by which he adviſed me that nothing was eaſier than to ſurprize the Cittadel of *Ghent*, by the Means of the *Hollanders* who were Neighbours to it; and the Prince of *Orange* might advance near with a Body of Foot, without giving the leaſt Jealouſy; and in ſhort deſired me to go to Court and make this Propoſal.

But, in Order to make appear how eaſy this Enterpriſe might have been put in Execution, 'twill be convenient to inſert the proper Terms of the Letter which was writ in Cyphers, a Copy of which I tranſcribed before I preſented an Original to Monſieur *de Noyers*.

SIR,

SIR,

I *Am extreamly concerned that my Endeavours have had no better Succeſs; and that Monſieur* de Lalen *is detained for ſuch ſlight Reaſons. If he had made a quick return, 'twould not have been difficult to ſurprize this place. There are now but* 300 *Men in Garriſon, many of whom are old and can ſcarce go, and as many diſabled and can make no Defence; beſides the* 28 *or* 30 Portugeſe *and* Catalonians, *who have promiſed us their Aſſiſtance, and above* 70 *Officers who are Priſoners.* Philippine, *where there is a Garriſon of* Dutch, *is but four hours March from us. All the Country between this Place and that is under Contribution. Their Parties come up to the very Gates of the City, and many of them enter upon ſeveral Pretences. For they carried off lately a Horſe from the middle of the Market-place, by a cunning Stratagem, in the Preſence of all the World. The Covetouſneſs of the Governor,* the Count de Salazar, *gives all People a free Entrance into the Caſtle, that he may ſell off his Wine at the greater Gain, which by a particular Privilege pays no Exciſe to the King. And a Meaſure which coſts fifteen pence in the City is worth but ſix pence in the Caſtle. Here are ſtill five or ſix thouſand Burghers and Strangers, Men and Women who drink without being ſearch'd or examin'd. If you will conſider all theſe Circumſtances, and reflect upon what happened at the Surprize of* Amiens *and* Breda, *you will find a fairer Occaſion and a greater Probability of Effecting this.*

To

To haſten ſo important an Affair I waited on Monſieur *de Noyers*, who was at that time at *Chaume en Brié* with the King to take care of the Preſervation of Monſieur *le Cardinal de Richelieu*, who ſtayed behind at the *Bourbon Waters*, in great Suſpicion of his Maſter and many of thoſe who were about him. But this Miniſter having aſſured me that he would give the neceſſary Orders about this Affair, and commanded me to ſpeak to no Man of it, I retired, eaſily perceiving by his Looks and Diſcourſe, that he did not reliſh this Propoſal, however advantageous it was, when it came from a Man to whom he had ſuch an Averſion.

He never acquainted the King with it, for fear he ſhould reward and conſider Monſieur *de Rantzau* for ſo important a Service. The Campaigne being at an End, the *Spaniards*, according to their uſual Cuſtom, reinforced their Gatriſons, among others, that of the Caſtle of *Ghent*, with the Troops of their Army, which changed the Face of Affairs, and made the Execution of this Enterprize impoſſible.

The ſame Year that *Breda* was ſurpriſed by the *Spaniards*, the Duke of *Anjou*, purſuant to his Engagement with the States of the Provinces, came from *Chateau Thierry* with 10000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe to the Relief of *Cambray* beſieged by the Duke of *Parma*, who raiſed the Siege. Not long before the Viſcount *de Turenne*, who was afterwards the famous Duke *de Bouillon*, *Henry de la Tour*, the

the Counts of *Ventadour*, and *de la Fenillade*, and four other Lords, having run the Riſque to paſs through the Army of the Duke, and throw themſelves into the Place, were made Priſoners, and forced to pay a great Ranſom.

At that time the *States-General*, aſſembled at the *Hague*, declared the King of *Spain* to have forfeited the Soveraignty of the *Netherlands*, broke his Seal and Arms, and commanded all People to acknowledge him no longer for their Prince, and take the Oath of Fidelity to them.

The Beginning of this Decree runs thus, *That a Prince is appointed by God Almighty, the Head of his People, to defend them from Oppreſſion, as a Shepherd to keep his Flock; and that when a Prince oppreſſes them, they may chooſe another Lord to govern them in Juſtice according to their Privileges.* The reſt is nothing but a long Narration of the Cruelties and Infractions of their Privileges by the King and his Miniſters, which obliged them to have Recourſe to another Prince.

At the ſame time the Duke of *Parma* took *Tournay* from the *States* notwithſtanding the vigorous Defence of *Mary de Lalain* Princeſs *D' Epinoy*, Siſter to *Emanuel de Lalain Seigneur de Montigny*, one of the chief Malecontents. She gave great Proofs of her Courage in this Siege, encouraging the Soldiers and Burghers to a gallant Reſiſtance, and expoſing herſelf ſo much in the moſt dangerous Places, that ſhe received a Harquebuſs Shot in her Arm. This Lady, who deſerves a

Place

Place among the Heroines, died the Year after at *Antwerp* extreamly regretted by the *States-General*, for her Courage and Firmneſs to maintain their Party.

Immediately after, the Duke of *Anjou* paſſed into *England*, to have the Advice of Queen *Elizabeth*, and to endeavour to accompliſh his Marriage with that Princeſs, a Contract being made, and Rings having been preſented on both ſides. But the Queen having found out ſome Excuſes to hinder it contented her ſelf with ſupplying him with Money for his Voyage into the *Netherlands*, and ſending with him my Lord *Leiceſter*, Admiral *Howard*, both Knights of the Garter, and 100 other Lords and Gentlemen of Quality, who carried with them a Train of 500 Men.

An Dom. 1582. He repaſſed from *England* into *Zealand*, aboard the Ships of this Princeſs, arrived at *Fluſhing*, and becauſe of the great Cold went a foot to *Middlebourg* the Capital of *Zealand*, which is a League from thence, where he was received and treated very magnificently. The Prince of *Orange* and *Epinoy* went to meet him, and going aboard the 50 Ships provided for them, arrived at *Antwerp*, where this great City received him with ſurprizing Pomp and Splendour. All the Keys were lined with the Burghers in Arms, moſt part very richly dreſs'd, and with gilt Arms: Triumphal Arches were erected in all parts very richly adorned with fine Inſcriptions. This Prince marched under a Canopy

Canopy of Cloth of Gold, from the Port to the great Piazza, where a Theatre was built with a Throne upon it. There the Prince having cloathed him with the Ducal Cap and Mantle of Red Crimſon Velvet lined with Ermins, he ſware publickly in the preſence of the *States* and the Officers of the City, and an infinite Concourſe of People from all parts to ſee ſo extraordinary a Sight, *That he would religiouſly obſerve the Treaty concluded with them, and the Privileges of the Provinces, and govern, not by his Will, but by Juſtice and Equity.* Afterwards the *States*, and the Magiſtrates of *Antwerp* ſwore Fidelity and Obedience to him as their Sovereign Prince. But this publick Rejoycing was interrupted by an Attempt made on the Prince of *Orange*. One *Jauregny* a *Spaniard* of *Biſcay*, Factor to a Merchant called *Anaſtre*, ſpurred on by the Reward promiſed in the *Proſcription*, fir'd a Piſtol at him, loaded with one Ball, which ſtruck him under the Right Ear and went out through the Left Cheek, breaking ſeveral of his Teeth. At firſt they believed the *French* to be the Authors of this Attempt, but the Murtherer being killed by the Halberdiers of the Prince, and Papers found in his pocket, which proved him to be a *Spaniard*, they were undeceived, and the People who had run to their Arms to revenge his Murther on the *French* at the Cloiſter of S. *Michael*, where the Duke of *Anjou* lodged, retired to their Houſes. The Prince of *Orange*, to appeaſe the Tumult, with much Difficulty,

writ

writ a Letter with his own Hand to the Magiſtrate, to aſſure him that the *Spaniards* were the Authors of this Attempt.

The Grief and Concern of this great City, for the Wounding of the Prince, cannot be expreſſed. Immediately publick Prayers were appointed, and as long as he continued in Danger the People ſtayed in the Churches praying to God for his Recovery. When he was well, they kept a general Faſt, and the whole Day was imployed in thanking God for reſtoring to them the Father of their Country.

When he was in a Condition to travel, the Duke of *Anjou* carried him to *Ghent* and *Bruges*, where another great Conſpiracy againſt thoſe Princes was diſcovered. The chief Man concerned in it was *Nicholas Salvedo* a *Spaniard*, who confeſſed that he had received 4000 Crowns from the Duke of *Parma*, to make away the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Prince of *Orange*, by Poyſon or any other way; and that he followed them in order to put his villainous Deſign in Execution; *Francis Baza* an *Italian* and Native of *Breſſe*, one of his Complices, was arreſted likewiſe, and confeſſed the ſame thing, but before Execution ſtabbed himſelf with his Knife, to prevent the Severity of the Puniſhment which was preparing for them. *Salvedo* was carried to *Paris*, where by a Decree of the Parliament he was drawn in pieces by four Horſes in the *Greve*.

The

The wretched *Salvedo* ſeeing himſelf a Priſoner in the *Conciergerie*, accuſed Monſieur *de Villeroy*, in hopes to ſave himſelf, by making ſo great a Man a Partner in his Guilt, or at leaſt ſuſpend the Puniſhment he deſerved. But no Credit was given to ſo Helliſh an Accuſation of a Miniſter of the greateſt Abilities, and the moſt devoted to the Good and Intereſt of the State, of all thoſe who ever had the Adminiſtration of *France*. And it muſt be acknowledged, to his Honor, that in all the Fury of the League, he was the Man that prevented its falling into the Hands of Foreigners, and after a Miniſtry of fifty years, died poorer at the End than the Beginning of his Greatneſs. His Father had been likewiſe Secretary of State, and his Grandfather, of the ſame Name, *De Neville*, was ſo under *Francis* the Firſt, and Superintendant of the *Finances*.

The Duke of *Anjou*, imitating the Conduct of *Reboboam* who ruined himſelf by following the Counſel of the *young Men*, by the Advice of the Sieurs *de Fervaques*, *S. Agnan*, *de la Rochepot*, and other hot-headed young Fellows that governed him, without acquainting the Prince of *Orange*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, Count *de Laval*, nor any other Lords who were capable of giving him good Counſel; reſolved, contrary to his Oath and againſt all Juſtice, to ſeize, the ſame day, on all the moſt conſiderable Cities of the *Netherlands*, as *Dunkirk*, *Dendermonde*, *Bruges*, and *Antwerp* it ſelf, not being able to

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The Duke of *Anjou*, imitating the Conduct of *Reboboam* who ruined himſelf by following the Counſel of the *young Men*, by the Advice of the Sieurs *de Fervaques*, *S. Agnan*, *de la Rochepot*, and other hot-headed young Fellows that governed him, without acquainting the Prince of *Orange*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, Count *de Laval*, nor any other Lords who were capable of giving him good Counſel; reſolved, contrary to his Oath and againſt all Juſtice, to ſeize, the ſame day, on all the moſt conſiderable Cities of the *Netherlands*, as *Dunkirk*, *Dendermonde*, *Bruges*, and *Antwerp* it ſelf, not being able

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to bear any longer the great Authority of the Prince of *Orange*, and ſo limited a Power, complaining to be only a Sovereign in Name. And for a Proof of his juſt Reſentment, and in his own Juſtification, he alledged that the People of *Antwerp* had taken up Arms to deſtroy him in his Lodgings, and having rebelled againſt him by ſo raſh an Act, he was conſequently abſolved from his Oath. Thus he ſurprized *Dunkirk*, *Dendermonde*, and ſome other places, but miſſed of *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, when he thought himſelf Maſter of it; for though he had poured into the City 17 Companies of Foot ſupported by all his Army, which he had advanced near the Walls, under pretence of making a review of it; nevertheleſs the Burghers ran in all haſt to their Arms, and made ſo brave a Reſiſtance, that the *French* were obliged to retire in Diſorder to the Gate by which they entred, where there was made ſuch a terrible Slaughter of them, that 'twas impoſſible for thoſe without to ſuccour their Friends within; for there were Mountains of dead Bodies pil'd in Heaps one upon the other, which block'd up the Entry and cut off the Retreat of the *French*, of whom there were more ſtifled than kill'd. In this bloody Diſpute, called *the Enterprize* upon *Antwerp*, there were killed only 83 Burghers, and 1500 *French*, among whom were 300 Gentlemen, who were all buried without Diſtinction in a great Ditch. And as the people of theſe Counties who are much of the ſame Humour with the *Germans*, in all extraordinary

extraordinary Events make Computations upon the Numbers, they obſerved that this Deliverance fell out in the Year 1583. which Number made up that of the 83 Burghers and 1500 *French* who were killed that day.

The Duke of *Anjou*, having miſcarried in his Attempt, ſurrendred by a Treaty made with the *States* all the Places he had poſſeſſed himſelf of, and returning into *France*, died of Grief in his Appenage of *Chateau-Thierry*, in the beginning of the next year, with the Reputation of a violent and unſettled Temper.

The *Flemmings* believed that the Prince of *Orange* was concerned in the Attempt the *French* made to ſurprize *Antwerp*, and his Enemies and Enviers (which great Men never fail to have) made uſe of this falſe pretence, to leſſen his great Credit, and of his fourth Marriage with *Louiſe de Coligny*, Daughter to the Admiral *de Chaſtillon*, whom he married after he had loſt his third Wife *Charlotte de Bourbon*, who died at *Antwerp* not long after he was cured of his Wound, which was a viſible proof, as they ſaid, of his Inclination to the *French*, who at that time were had in Execration by all the *Netherlands*. Seeing himſelf thus ſuſpected, and that the Party of the *States* declined in the *Walloon* Provinces, he retired into *Holland*, where he thought his Life in greater Security and leſs expoſed to thoſe Attempts which Superſtition on one ſide, and the Reward promiſed in the *Proſcription* on the other, made

every one ready to undertake againſt his Perſon. He choſe the City of *Delft* for his ordinary Reſidence, where at the Beginning of the year 1584. he had a Son born called *Henry Frederick*, Grandfather to the preſent Prince of *Orange*, who did not degenerate from the Vertue of his Anceſtors.

Prince *William* employed *Philip de Mornix*, Seigneur *de* S. *Aldegonde*, in the Management of his greateſt Affairs, and made him Burgomaſter of *Antwerp* when he left it. He was a Man of Quality, Integrity and Learning. About the End of his Life he made uſe of *John Barneveld*, whom he valued very much upon the account of his Honeſty and great Capacity.

Having been almoſt overſet with the Tempeſts which had been raiſed up againſt him and having a Heart above the Storms, he took for his Deviſe, a Sea-Gull or Didapper, in Latin *Mergus*, with this Motto, *Sævis tranquillus in Undis*, *Undiſturb'd in the midſt of the ſtormy Waves.*

He behaved himſelf with ſo much Sweetneſs and Civility to the common People, that he never wore his Hat as he walked through the Streets, where People of all Ages and Sexes crowded to ſee him. His moſt intimate Friends aſſured my Father, that in his Paſſage through the Streets, if he heard a Noiſe in any Houſe, and ſaw a Huſband and Wife quarrelling, he entred, heard the Difference patiently, perſwaded them to a Reconciliation with incredible Sweetneſs.

The

The Breach made up, the Maſter of the Houſe asked him if he would not taſte his Beer; the Prince ſaid yes; the Beer brought, the Burgher, according to the Faſhion of the Country, begins the Prince's Health, in a Gup which they call a Cann, and which is uſually of blew Earth, then wiping off the Froth with the palm of his Hand, preſented the Can to the Prince who pledged him. And when his Confidents told him, that he condeſcended too much to Men of ſuch mean Quality, and treated them with too much Civility, the Prince uſed to anſwer, that what was gained by pulling off a Hat or a little Complaiſance, was bought at a very eaſy Rate.

No wonder, after this, that he was ſo univerſally lamented by the People when he was unhappily aſſaſſinated in the 51ſt. year of his Age. 'Twas done by one *Baltazar de Guerard* a Gentleman of the *Franche Comtè* and Native of *Villefons* in the County of *Burgundy*, who in Hopes of a Reward, or pretending to merit Heaven, by taking out of the World an Enemy to the King and the Catholick Religion, killed him at *Delft*, as he roſe from Table, with a Piſtol-Shot loaded with three Bullets, of which he died without ſaying any thing more than *Lord have Mercy on my Soul, and this poor People!*. This diſmal Accident happened in the preſence of *Louiſe de Coligny* his fourth Wife, and the Counteſs of *Schouarzebourg* his Siſter, whom he loved very tenderly, and who never forſook him

and was preſent at *Antwerp* when *Jouregny* wounded him.

This Villain had inſinuated himſelf into the Acquaintance of the Prince, under the name of *Francis Guyon* Son to *Peter Guyon* of *Beſançon*, who ſuffered for Religion. He had always the *Huguenot* Pſalms in his Hands, and was a conſtant Frequenter of Sermons, the better to conceal his Deſign: Inſomuch as the Prince truſted him, and ſent him upon ſeveral Diſpatches, and at the very Moment he aſſaſſinated him, he demanded of the Prince a Paſſ-port to go ſomewhere where the Prince was ſending him. He was but 22 years old, and made appear as much Conſtancy and Reſolution in ſuffering the Puniſhment of his Crime, as Boldneſs in undertaking it. He repeated a hundred times, that *if he had not done it, he would do it again*; and when his Fleſh was plucked off his Limbs with burning Pincers he did not utter the leaſt Cry or Groan, which made the *Hollanders* believe he was poſſeſſed by the Devil; and the *Spaniards*, that he was aſſiſted by God Almighty; ſo different are the Opinions and Paſſions of Mankind.

The Marks of the Balls which entred into a Stone of the Gate, after they had gone through the Body of the Prince, are ſhown to Strangers at this day in *Delft* in *Holland*, and I my ſelf ſaw them when I was young.

Thus died *William* of *Naſſau* Prince of *Orange*, and theſe are his principal Actions, which are like ſo many ſolid Pillars upon which

which he has erected the great Fabrick of the *Commonwealth* of the *United Provinces*. There was need of as vaſt a Genius and Capacity as his was to undertake ſo great and difficult a Work, an unparallelled Courage to carry it on to the End, and an unheard of Conſtancy in arriving to it, in ſpite of the formidable Power of *Spain*, and the domeſtick Treaſons, which croſſed his generous Deſigns. After this I believe no Man will accuſe me of an Hyperbole for ranking this great Man among the Heroes of Antiquity; and aſſerting that the Life and Vertue of the Admiral *de Coligny* bore a great Reſemblance with that of the Prince of *Orange*.

They had both a very great ſhare of Conduct, Wiſdom and Moderation. They both had the Addreſs to clear up and unravel the moſt perplexed and embroiled Affairs. Both heard more than they talk'd. They had both the Art of perſuading, and were full of good Counſels. Both poſſeſſed the Hearts, the Eſteem and the Veneration of all thoſe of their Party. Their Courage was above their Misfortunes, and their Conſtancy in ſupporting them was admirable. Both were often routed, and ſtill found ſome glorious Reſources in all their Adverſities. Both had to do with the moſt powerful Kings of Chriſtendom. Both made uſe of the Aſſiſtance of *England* and *Germany* to maintain themſelves. Both lived in the ſame Time, and outlived 50 years. Both ſupported the ſame

Religion, and eſtabliſhed it one in *France*, the other in the *Low-Countries*. Both were *proſcribed*, and Prices ſet on their Heads. The Prince was ſeconded in his Wars, by the Courage of Count *Lodowick*, *Adolphus*, and *Henry* of *Naſſaw*, his Brothers. And the Admiral was ſupported in his, by the Counſels of *Odel de Coligny*, Cardinal *de Chatillon*, and by the Valour of *Francis de Coligny*, Seigneur d'*Andelot* Colonel-General of the *French* Infantry, his two Brothers. In fine, both died a violent Death and by Treaſon, and both equally dreaded. The powerful Princes whom they had attacked not thinking themſelves ſecure till they had cut off theſe two great Men; and not being able to compaſs it by open Force and War, made uſe of Treachery and Fraud to bring it about.

The Prince would never have periſhed as the Admiral did; for he would never have committed himſelf to the Power of his Enemies being of the ſame Opinion with the Man who ſaid, that *when a Subject draws his Sword againſt his King, he ought to throw away the Scabbard.* The Prince died by giving all ſorts of Perſons too free Acceſs to his Perſon, at a time when Superſtition was the Motive to ſuch horrible Attempts, and perhaps by being of *Cæſar*'s Opinion, who told his Friends when they adviſed him to guard himſelf, and make himſelf fear'd, That *'twas better to die once, than live in continual Apprehenſions of Death.*

As

As ſoon as the News of his Murder was ſpread about, nothing was to be ſeen over all Parts in the Cities but Tears, nothing to be heard over all the Villages of the Country but Lamentations, as if all had loſt what was moſt dear to them. The People of the *United Provinces*, in the Celebration of his Funeral, ſhewed the greateſt Mourning which was ever heard of, and their Affliction went even to Deſpair. The Funeral Pomp was very Magnificent; all the Nobility aſſiſted at it, and the chief Men of the Provinces, in deep Mourning followed by an incredible Number of People of all Conditions. Prince *Maurice* his Son followed the Corps, having on his Right Hand *Gerard Truceſes* Archbiſhop and Elector of *Cologne*, and on his Left Count *de Hohenlo* or *Holac*. This was that Elector, who falling deſperately in love with *Agnes de Mansfield* a Nun, choſe rather to loſe his Soveraignty and Electorate than his Miſtreſs. He was of the ſame Opinion with that *Greek* Poet who writ, that a beloved Nymph ſtood in inſtead of all things, and that we can want nothing with her; but not enjoying her, we are poor amidſt the plenty of all other Goods.

This Archbiſhop delivered into the Hands of the *United Provinces* the City of *Reneberg* in the Dioceſs of *Cologne*. It was ſo often taken by the *Spaniards* and *Dutch*, that the Marqueſs *Spinola* called it the *Whore of War*, and it was ſeven years ſince in the Hands of the *States*, the Conſideration of which made

the preſent Elector of *Cologne* join with *France*, to recover again this Place of his Electorate, which this *Truceſes* had alienated, and this Alliance gave us an Opportunity of falling upon *Holland* behind, which ſome years ſince was almoſt over-run.

The Gravers of *Holland* have repreſented this Magnificent Funeral Pomp of the Prince of *Orange*, upon ſeveral Sheets of Paper glu'd together, which take up the whole ſide of a great Hall, in order to perpetuate the Memory of ſo remarkable a Mourning.

Count *Maurice* his Son built him a very ſtately Monument of Marble, where his Images ſtands made to the Life; the Baſis of this fine Monument is adorn'd with ſeveral Statues repreſenting all the Vertues, and the upper part is ſurrounded with weeping Loves. It ſtands in one of the principal Churches of *Delft*, and is not inferiour to the moſt ſumptuous and ſtately Tombs in *Italy*.

Reflecting on this Tragical Death of the Prince of *Orange*, I have often wondred that ſo wiſe a Man, and who had ſo powerful Enemies, had not better guarded himſelf. For when he paſſed through the Cities he was commonly attended by only three or four Domeſticks; and I wondred at it the more becauſe, not long before, *Jouregny* had like to have killed him at *Antwerp*, where he eſcaped miraculouſly. And there were many *Salcedes* in the Country who wanted only an Opportunity to aſſaſſinate him. For after his

his Death the *Spaniards* gave out, that when he was murthered by this *Burgundian*, there was the ſame time at *Delft*, a *Lorrainer*, an *Engliſh* Man, and two more of different Nations, who had the ſame Deſign, and could not have failed to put it in Execution.

It ſeems to me that his own Dangers ought to have made him provide better for his Security; but he feared only two Nations, the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, imploying all others but theſe two; and in the City of *Delft* which he had made the Seat of his Reſidence there was neither *Spaniard* nor *Italian*. He obſerved that though a Price had been ſet on Admiral *Coligny*'s Head, nevertheleſs no Man durſt run the Hazard of Aſſaſſinating him in hopes of a Reward which could prove of no Service to them when they had loſt their Lives; for there was no Appearance of making an Eſcape after they had killed a Prince in his own Country and in the midſt of his Attendants. Had he lived till the year 1589. and ſeen a little Monk, ſpurred on by a falſe Zeal of Religion, have the Boldneſs to aſſaſſinate *Henry* the III. at St. *Cloud* in the midſt of his Army, he would have taken more Care of his Safety.

Theſe diſmal Accidents, and the deplorable Death of *Henry* the IV. maſſacred in the middle of *Paris*, were a Warning to *Richelieu* who had always in his Mind, this Proverb, that Suſpicion is the Mother of Security. For when he ſaw all *Europe* had conſpired his Ruin, he ſtood upon his Guard, and died

peace-

peaceably in his Bed, in ſpite of all the Diſguſts of his Maſter, and the Contrivances of his Enemies.

The Superſtitious Catholicks and *Spaniards* celebrate this *Belthazar de Guerard*, and have ranked him in the Number of their Martyrs. Upon which Subject I cannot but admire that *Famianus Strada* in his excellent Hiſtory of the *Low Countries* has inſinuated that *Jouregny* who narrowly miſſed of killing the Prince at *Antwerp*, had a good Deſign, becauſe he had fortified and prepared himſelf before he executed it, with the Sacraments of the Communion and Pennance, as if God Almighty who has expreſſly forbid Murther in the *Decalogue*, and our Lord *Jeſus* Chriſt, who hath ſaid and taught that he who ſhould ſtrike with the Sword, ſhould periſh by the Sword, would guide and ſtrengthen a Murtherer in his Attempt. Some Examples of the Old Teſtament will not ſerve to juſtifie him, where God Almighty for the Preſervation and eſtabliſhment of the people of *Iſrael*, and for other Reaſons beſt known to himſelf allowed of ſuch Actions, otherwiſe there could be no Security for the Life of any Prince. The *Huguenots* on the other ſide made a Martyr of that execrable *Poltrot*, who killed the Great *Francis* of *Lorrain* Duke of *Guiſe*, who had given him a treat in his Houſe and made him eat at his Table, inſomuch as *Adrianus Turnebus* one of the learnedſt men of his Age, made a Latin Poem in Honour of this *Poltrot*, who

was

was called *John de Merè*, where he ſays,

Conſpicuus fulvo ſtabit Mereus in auro.

And toward the End,

Plurimus ut maneat Mereus in ore nepotum.

Another learned Heretick ſaid this in his Poem, *Præmia multa Meret*, alluding to his Name *de Merè*. Another Heretick goes ſo far as to ſay among other things in *French* Verſe,

Ce valeureux Poltrot *qui tant s'ever tua*
Que le tyran, tueur de Chretiens il tua.

I knew in my youth the Lady of the Sieur *Alard* a Captain in the *French* Troops in *Holland*, ſo prepoſſeſſed with falſe Zeal and Bigotry for *Calviniſm*, that ſhe ſhewed publickly to all the World the Picture of *Poltrot*, like *Judith* having killed *Holofernes*, which ſhe kept in the Reuelle of her Bed, as a great Martyr, and whom ſhe conſidered as the Deliverer of the little Flock.

The Doctors of the League honoured with many Elogies *James Clement* a *Jacobin*, the Murtherer of *Henry* the III. comparing him to *Ehud* who freed the people of *Iſrael* from their Servitude, by killing *Eglon* Prince of the *Moabites* in his Chamber. For Men's Paſſions are ſo violent, and their Animoſities prejudice them in ſuch a manner, that they celebrate

lebrate Actions which deſerve not only the Blame of all good Men, but an exemplary Puniſhment.

William Prince of *Orange* made more noiſe in *Europe* than all the Kings of his time put together, and has left behind him a renowned Poſterity, who purſuing his glorious Example, have amazed all the Chriſtian World by Actions which are immortalized in Hiſtory. He may boaſt to have been the Father of two very great Captains, to have produced Kings, Electors, Landtgraves, and Sovereign Princes in *Germany*, to have peopled *France* with Princes, Princeſſes, Dukes, Cardinals, Mareſchals, and many great Lords. But for a clearer Underſtanding of the Matter, we muſt firſt declare that he had four Wives.

His firſt Wife was *Anne D' Egmont* Daughter to *Maximilian D' Egmont* Count of *Burem* and *Leerdam*, a great Heireſs, whom he married by the Favour of *Charles* V. and had by her a Son and Daughter. The Son was *Philip William* Prince of *Orange*, of whom more hereafter, and the Daughter *Mary de Naſſaw* who was married to *Philip* Count *de Hohenlo*, commonly called *de Holac*, a great General, who after the unexpected Death of the Prince of *Orange* which put the *United Provinces* into a ſtrange Conſternation, generouſly reſiſted all the Efforts of the *Spaniards*, and taught the firſt Rudiments of War to Prince *Maurice* his Brother in Law who was at the College at the time of this unhappy Accident.

His

His ſecond Wife was *Anne* of *Saxony*, Daughter to the Great *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony* who made head againſt the Emperor *Charles* the V. by whom he had the Famous *Maurice*, of whom we ſhall give a very large Relation, and a Daughter named *Emilia de Naſſau* who married *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, Son to King *Anthony* of *Portugal*, who was diſpoſſeſſed by King *Philip* the II. This Prince *Emmanuel* won ſo much on the Princeſs by his Civility, Courtſhip and Addreſſes, that ſhe choſe him for her Husband as poor as he was, and of a contrary Religion, and tho' Prince *Maurice* oppoſed the Match as advantageous to neither. They had two Sons, whom I knew in my youth, one of whom left a Son, among other Children, who went lately into *Holland* to demand of the Prince of *Orange* the Remainder of his Grandmother's Fortune; and many Daughters, ſome of whom were married to Perſons of a very unſuitable Quality. She was a very good Princeſs, but about the end of her Life, having fallen out with the Prince of *Orange* her Brother, ſhe retired to *Geneva*. *An. Dom.* 1623. and died ſhortly after of Melancholy, leaving ſix Daughters whom I ſaw at *Geneva*, *An. Dom.* 1624. She was Godmother to one of my Siſters and gave her Her Name *Emilia*, who is ſtill alive and is married to the Seigneur *de Montrevil* near *Menetoon* in *Champagne*: Her Godfather was the Count *de Culembourg*, Son to *Florent de Pallant* Count *de Culembourg*, whoſe Houſe at *Bruſſels* was pulled

pulled down by Order of the Duke of *Alva*, and who having done nothing after the Addreſs of the Nobility, retired into *Holland* and lived ſo privately that he died unknown to thoſe of his own Party.

The third Wife of *William* Prince of *Orange* was *Charlotte de Bourbon* of the Houſe of *Montpenſier*, whom I have declared before to have been a Religieuſe or Abbeſs of *Jouarre*. But the Love of Liberty which is an invaluable Bleſſing, prevailed over all the Vows ſhe had made in her youth, which ſhe pleaded ſhe had been forced to, and had made ſeveral Proteſtations againſt. She died of a Pleuriſy at *Antwerp*, *A. D.* 1582. leaving ſix Daughters behind her.

The eldeſt *Loviſe Julienne de Naſſau* was married to *Frederick* the IV. Elector Palatine, Father to *Frederick* the V. Elected King of *Bohemia*, who by the Princeſs *Elizabeth* of *England*, Siſter to *Charles* the I. King of *Great Britain*, had many Princes and Princeſſes.

The eldeſt, *Henry Frederick* Deſign'd King of *Bohemia* with his Father, *A.D.* 1620. was a very handſom and hopeful Prince. He ſtudied at *Leyden*, and Our Tutor *Benjamin Prioleau* Author of the Latin Hiſtory of the laſt Regency, carried us duely every *Sunday* after Dinner to play with this young Prince, who loved us extreamly, which made us the more regret his Death when we afterwards heard of it. He periſhed unhappily in the Sea of *Haerlem*, going in Company with the King his Father to ſee the

the *Spaniſh* Galleons laden with an ineſtimable Booty, which had been taken by *Peter Hain* the *Dutch* Admiral near the Iſland of *Cuba*. A Veſſel by Night, ſailing full Speed, having fall'n foul on his, ſplit it in two; thus the Prince and all that were in it were drowned, except the King his Father, who by great Fortune, having caught hold of a Rope that was thrown out to him from the Ship, was miraculouſly drawn aboard.

The Second is the preſent Elector Palatine, who has ſeveral Children by the Princeſs of *Heſſe*, among others, Madam the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, a Princeſs of great Wit and Judgment, who has already Children who are the firſt Princes of the Blood in *France*.

The third is the Famous Prince *Robert* who has won ſo much Reputation by Sea and Land, having not deceived the hopes which he had given in his Infancy, by the Martial and Manly Look which was then taken notice of.

The fourth was called *Edward*, who lived a long time in *France*, where turning Catholick he married the Princeſs *Anne de Gonzague* Daughter to the late Duke of *Mantua*, *Montferrat* and *Lions*, and Siſter to *Maria Louiſe* Q. of *Poland*, and Wife to two Brothers *Uladiſlaus* and *Caſimir* Kings of *Poland*. She was celebrated for her Beauty under the Name of the Princeſs *Maria*. Concerning whom, I add this by the way, that having been deſigned Queen of *Poland*, and underſtanding that I was very well acquainted with the

State

State of that Kingdom where I had been twice; ſhe deſired me by the Duke *de Noailles* to give her ſome Inſtructions of it, which I did ſeveral Afternoons; and in Token of her Acknowledgment ſhe would be Godmother to my eldeſt Daughter, with Monſieur the Coadjutor of *Paris*, then Archbiſhop of *Corinth*, who is the famous Cardinal *de Retz*, the learnedſt Prelate in the Kingdom.

But to return to the Prince Palatine, *Edward*: He left three Daughters by the Princeſs *Anne* of *Mantua*, the eldeſt of whom is Madam the Dutcheſs of *Enguien*, already the Mother of ſeveral Princes and Princeſſes of the Blood. The other married the Duke of *Brunſwick Hanouer*, who had only Daughters, and the third the Prince of *Solme* who was made priſoner at the Battle of *Seneff*.

If I well remember (for I write all this by my memory which is very good without the Aſſiſtance of any Book) there was another Son of the King of *Bohemia*, a very handſom Man, Godſon to Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, called *Maurice*.

I ſaw another Son of his, called *Philip*, who retired to *Venice*, for an Action which 'tis better to paſs over in Silence than mention.

Another Son was called *Louis*, who died young, whom my Father named ſo for the late King who was his Godfather, by an Order of his Majeſty which follows.

Monſieur

Monſieur de Maurier,

BEing acquainted with the Deſire my Couſin the Count Palatine of the Rhine *has to invite me to be Godfather to the laſt Son which God has given him, I ſhall be extreamly glad to pay him this Teſtimony of my Friendſhip and good Affection, and that you ſhould perform this Office in my Name when the time is, firſt informing him of the Charge I have given you, and renewing the Aſſurances of my Affection to him: Referring this to your Care I deſire God* (*Monſieur* Maurier) *to keep and preſerve you.*

Written at *Paris* the 15th day of *Novemb.* 1623.

Signed LOWIS; *and below*, Brulart.

In purſuance of this Order the Ceremony of the Baptiſm was performed. Prince *Maurice* repreſented the King of *Sweden*, who was likewiſe Godfather, and the Counteſs of *Naſſau*, the Queen of *Sweden*. My Father Walked as Embaſſador of *France*, with the King of *Bohemia* on his Right Hand, and the Prince of *Orange* on his Leſt. The Ceremony was celebrated with great Pomp in a Church at the *Hague* called the *Cloiſtre*, where I was preſent, with my three Brothers. For which great Honour the King and Queen of *Bohemia* thanked the King of *France* by Monſieur *D'Auſſon de Villeroul*, of the Houſe of *Jan-*

court, Brother-in-Law to my Father, who was in their Service, and afterwards unhappily periſhed with Prince *Henry Frederick* by the ſplitting of the Veſſel which I mentioned before. The Pope's Nuncio Reſident at *Paris* hearing of this Baptiſm, made great Complaints of it at Court, and ſaid 'twas a great Shame for the moſt Chriſtian King and eldeſt Son of the Church to have his Perſon repreſented by a *Huguenot* in an Eccleſiaſtical Ceremony.

The King and Queen of *Bohemia* left behind them ſeveral Princeſſes eminent for their Beauty and Merit, one of whom turned Catholick, and is now Abbeſs *de Maubuiſſon*.

The Princeſs *Louiſe Juliane de Naſſau*, eldeſt Daughter of *Charlotte de Bourbon*, and *William* Prince of *Orange*, had alſo a Daughter by *Frederick* the IV. Elector *Palatine*, who was married to the late Elector of *Brandenburg*, Father to the preſent Elector. I ſaw (*A.D.* 1635.) the old Electoreſs *Palatine* a *Konigſberg*, the Capital of the Ducal *Pruſſia*, where ſhe had retired to her Daughter the Electoreſs of *Brandenbourg* after the Diſorders of the *Palatinate*. Theſe two Princeſſes were extreamly civil to me.

The ſecond Daughter of *Charlotte de Bourbon* and *William* Prince of *Orange*, was *Elizabeth de Naſſau*, Wife to *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bouillon*, a Famous General in the the Wars of *Henry* the IV. She was living in the year 1641. and I ſaw her in the Caſtle of *Sedan*, after the Battle wherein the Count

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de Soiſſons was killed. She left two Sons and four Daughters who had Children

The eldeſt was *Frederick Maurice de la Tour*, Duke of *Bouillon*, as great a Captain as his Father, who by the Counteſs *de Bergue* had the preſent Duke of *Bouillon*, Great Chamberlain of *France*, and the Cardinal *de Bouillon*, a Prince of great Learning and Merit, and the Count *D' Auvergne* who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in our Armies, and other Children, among the reſt the Dutcheſs *D' Elbeuf*.

The ſecond Son of *Elizabeth de Naſſau* and *Henry de la Tour* Duke of *Bouillon*, was the Famous *Henry de la Tour*, Viſcount *de Turenne*, a General of as great Wiſdom and Valour, who during the whole Courſe of his Life was held for one of the firmeſt Pillars of the State, and in conſideration of his extraordinary Valour and great Services, was interr'd at St. *Denys* with our Kings, by a juſt Order of his Majeſty. He married the Heireſs of the Houſe *de la Force*, whoſe Vertue equalled her Birth; ſhe was Daughter to the deceaſed Duke *de la Force*, and Grand-daughter to a Mareſchal of that Name, two Famous Captains, and died without Iſſue, but if ſhe had left any Children behind her they could not have failed of being great Men, being deſcended on both ſides from an illuſtrious Number of generous Anceſtors.

Beſides theſe two great Sons, *Elizabeth de Naſſau* had ſeveral Daughters by *Henry de la Tour*, Duke *de Bouillon*.

The eldeſt, *Anna Maria de la Tour*, married *Henry* Duke *de la Trimouille* and *de Thouars* her Couſin German.

Juliane de la Tour was married to *Francis de Roye de la Rochefoucault*, Count *de Rouſſy*, Father to the Count *de Roye*, very Famous in our Armies.

Elizabeth Wife of *Guy Alfonſe de Darfort*, Marqueſs of *Duras*, Father to Monſieur *de Duras*, Captain of the Guards *du Corps* to the King, Mareſchal of *France*, Governour of the *Franche Comtè*, and of the Count *de Lorge* likewiſe Mareſchal of *France*.

I believe that the youngeſt was called *Henrietta de la Tour*, Wife to the late Marqueſs *de la Moiſſy* of the Houſe of *Matignon*. She is Mother to the Marqueſe *Du Bordage*, and the Count *de Quintine*, who married a Lady of the Illuſtrious Name of *Montgomery*, as conſiderable for her Beauty and Merit, as the Greatneſs of her Extraction.

The third Daughter of *Charlotte de Bourbon* and *William* Prince of *Orange*, was named *Catharine Belgique*, who married *Philip Louis* Count of *Hanau* a Sovereign Lord near *Francfort* on the *Main*, from whom, beſides the Counts of *Hanau*, is deſcended *Amelia Elizabeth*, Wife to that generous *William* Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, who died in the year 1637. after whoſe Death this Princeſs, a Woman of a maſculine Courage, continued on the War againſt the Imperialiſts, and purſued the Steps of her Husband who after the Peace of

of *Prague* (where moſt of the Proteſtant Princes forſook their Allies and joined with the Houſe of *Auſtria*) had the Courage and Reſolution to make head almoſt alone againſt ſo formidable a Power. Among other Children ſhe left the preſent Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, called *William* as his Father was, the Electoreſs *Palatine* Mother to the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, and the Princeſs of *Tarente*, Mother to the preſent Duke *de la Trimouille* who is married to the Heireſs of the Houſe of *Crequi*.

The fourth Daughter of *Charlotte de Bourbon* and the Prince of *Orange*, was *Charlotte Brabantine*, Wife to *Claude* Duke *de la Trimouille*, and *de Thouars*, Count *de la Val* who had *Henry* Duke *de la Trimouille*, dead lately, and *Frederick de la Trimouille*, Count *de Laval* killed in a Duel in *Italy* by the late Monſieur *Du Coudray Montpenſier*. I ſaw him, and knew him in my youth, and becauſe his upper Lip was ſlit, they called him *Bec de lievere* or *Hare-Lip*. *Henry* Duke *de la Trimouille* had by *Mary de la Tour*, his Couſin German, formerly mentioned, the Prince *de Tarent* and *de Talmont* who is dead, and who had the Duke of *Trimouille* already mentioned by the Princeſs of *Heſſe*.

The fifth Daughter of *Charlotte de Bourbon* and the Prince of *Orange*, was *Charlotte Flandrine de Naſſau*, who returning to the Religion of her Anceſtors died Abbeſs of *S. Croix* in *Poictiers*. She was a very good Princeſs, I knew her, but was little, and ſo deaf that ſhe could not hear without a little Silver Trumpet.

The ſixth Daughter of *Charlotte de Bourbon* Princeſs of *Orange* was *Æmilia* of *Naſſau*, Wife to *Frederick Caſimir* Count *Palatine*, of the Branch of *Duponts*, called the Duke of *Lansberg*.

This is the illuſtrious and great Poſterity of this Fruitful Abbeſs.

The fourth and laſt Wife of *William* of *Naſſau* Prince of *Orange*, was *Louiſe de Coligny*, Widow to Monſieur *de Teligny*, and Daughter to the great Admiral *de Chatillon*; by whom he had only one Son, the renowned *Henry Frederick* Prince of *Orange*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

Beſides his celebrated Poſterity of legitimate Children, the Prince of *Orange* left a Natural Son called *Juſtin de Naſſau*, who led a conſiderable Body of Men to the Aſſiſtance of King *Henry* the IV. before the Peace of *Vervins*. He was a Brave, Vertuous Man, and died Governour of *Breda*. I have heard my Father ſay, that in the year 1616. having diſpatched to Court upon ſome important Affair, a *Garſon* Captain, named *Lancherc*, famous in the *Netherlands*, where he ſerved. This Courier in his Return paſſing through *Breda*, Monſieur *Juſtin de Naſſau* asked him, what News? He anſwered, nothing conſiderable but the Impriſonment of the Count *D' Auvergne*, ſince Duke of *Angouleſme*. *Juſtin de Naſſau* asking him the Reaſon, he replied, bluntly ſtriking him on the Back, (for he was acquainted with his true Extraction) Don't you know, Sir, that a

Son

Son of a Whore was never good for any thing. A Fault which the poor *Lanchere* confeſſed to my Father when he knew that he was a Baſtard. Which is a proof that 'tis good to be informed of Pedigrees and Alliances, otherwiſe we are liable to Miſtakes, and to offend innocently Perſons of Quality.

The End of the Life of William of Naſſau *Prince of* Orange.

THE LIFE OF *LOVISE de COLIGNY*, THE Fourth and Laſt Wife of *WILLIAM of NASSAU* Prince of *ORANGE*.

THIS Lady had very excellent Vertues, without having the leaſt Mixture of any Weakneſs incident to her Sex, through the Courſe of her whole Life, though it was very long. She had been married to Monſieur *de Teligny* before the Famous Day of St. *Bartholomew*, which was in 1572. and ſhe died in 1620. The *Admiral* her Father eſteem'd her very much both for her Modeſty and Prudence. She gain'd every Body's Heart and Affection, by her Way of Converſation, which was eaſy and graceful; and had an univerſal Reſpect, as well for her true Sence, as her extraordinary good

good Nature. She was very well ſhap'd, though her Stature was but low; her Eyes were very beautiful, and her Complexion lively.

The *Admiral*, who loved her tenderly and paſſionately, deſired to have her well diſpoſed of, after having caſt his Eyes upon all the Perſons of Quality that were of his own Religion and Party, he found none ſo deſerving to marry this excellent Lady as Monſieur *de Teligny*, (Son of Monſieur *de Teligny* a Famous Captain in the Wars of *Italy*) in whom he had obſerved more Valour and Conduct than in any other Gentleman of his time; beſides, his Vertues were ſo conſiderable, that thoſe who writ in Favour of Queen *Catharine* Queen of *Medices*, (who mortally hated the *Admiral*) have confeſſed, that ſhe and the King her Son had very great Difficulty to conſent to the Death of Monſieur *de Teligny*, who had rendred himſelf agreeable to both of them, by his handſom Deportment, and by his ſincere and noble Way of Acting; which ſhews that Vertue is always attractive, from whenceſoever it proceeds, and that it has uncommon Charms to make it ſelf admired and favoured, though in the Perſon of an Enemy.

The *Admiral* then adviſed this beautiful Lady to accept of Monſieur *de Teligny*, and to preferr a Man indued with ſo many good Qualities, though of moderate Fortune, to others, who though they had greater Riches and Titles, were ſtill leſs worthy to poſſeſs her,

her. But ſhe ſoon loſt ſo good a Husband, together with the *Admiral* her Father, in the cruel Day of St. *Bartholomew*. Having heard of this Misfortune in *Burgundy*, her Mother-in-Law and ſhe, with the young Lord of *Chatillon* her Brother, had much a-do to get into *Switzerland* to ſecure their Lives, the Maſſacre of the Proteſtants being univerſal throughout all *France*.

This great *Admiral* was Son of another *Gaſpar de Coligny*, Lord of *Chatillon* upon *Loyr*, Mareſchal of *France* under *Louis* the XII a Famous General, who died at *Aix*, as he was commanding the *French* Army againſt the *Spaniards*, and of *Louiſe de Montmorency*, Siſter to *Anne de Montmorency*, Conſtable of *France*. He left behind him three Sons that were very conſiderable; *Odet* Cardinal of *Chatillon* the eldeſt, who was Patron to all the Wits and Learned Perſons of his Age; *Jaſper* Admiral of *France*, who, before that, had been Governour of *Paris* and *Picardy*; and laſtly, *Francis de Coligny* Lord of *Andelot*, Colonel General of the *French* Infantry. A Son of the *Admiral*, named *Francis* was likewiſe Colonel of the *French* Infantry, he ſignalized himſelf, as well upon the Bridge of *Tours*, by ſaving the Perſons of *Henry* the III. and the King of *Navarre*, from the Forces of the League, and afterwards in the Battle of *Arques*, by which he gained the Reputation of ſurpaſſing the *Admiral*. He left two Sons by a Daughter of the Houſe of *Chaune de Pequigny*; the eldeſt, who promiſed much,

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was taken off by a Cannon Bullet at the Siege of *Oſtend*; the other was the Mareſchal *de Chatillon*, Father to the Count *de Coligny* that died young, and the Duke *de Chatillon* who was killed at *Charenton*. The Mareſchal *Chatillon* had likewiſe two Daughters, one married to the Prince of *Montbeliard*, and the other named *Henrietta*, Counteſs of *Adinton* and *Suze*, had ſo great a Genius for Poetry, that ſhe has out-done *Sappho* her ſelf, by her exquiſite Works, which are the Delight of all ſuch as are Lovers of Gallantry.

Madam *de Teligny* having lived during her Widowhood with a Conduct that made her admired by the whole World, ſhe was ſought to by Prince *William* of *Orange* after the Death of *Charlotte de Bourbon*, and he married her in the year 1583. upon the Reputation of her Vertue. But ſoon after, by a Fatality that uſually ſnatches from us That which is moſt dear, ſhe ſaw him aſſaſſinated before her own Eyes, having had but one Son by him, born a little before his Father's Death who was the Famous *Henry Frederick* Prince of *Orange*.

She had this Advantage, to be Sprung from the greateſt Man in *Europe*, and to have had two Husbands of very eminent Vertues, the laſt of which left behind him an immortal Reputation; but ſhe had likewiſe the Misfortune to loſe them all three by haſty and violent Deaths; her Life having been nothing but a continued Series of Afflictions,

ctions able to make any one ſink under them, but a Soul that, like hers, had reſigned her ſelf up ſo totally to the will of Heaven.

She has told my Father freely, that at her coming into *Holland*, ſhe was very much ſurprized at their Rude Way of Living, ſo different from that in *France*, and whereas ſhe had been uſed to a Coach, ſhe was there put into a *Dutch* Waggon, open at Top, guided by a *Vourman*; where ſhe ſate upon a Board, and that in going from *Roterdam* to *Delft*, which is but two Leagues, ſhe was crippled, and almoſt Frozen to death.

There never was one of a more noble Soul, or a truer Lover of Juſtice than this Princeſs.

But it was obſervable, during the great Differences between *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* her Son-in-Law, and Monſieur *Barneveldt*, ſhe took part with the latter, and uſed all her Endeavours to ſave his Life, having founded her good Opinion of him, upon his having been one of the chieſeſt Confidents of the Prince her Husband.

This Princeſs was my Father's greateſt Support in his *Long Embaſſy*; and rendred him always agreeable to the Houſe of *Orange*. This was a Favour which at that time he ſtood mightily in need of; for the Court would ſuffer no perſon there, but one that ſtood fair in the Opinion of that Family. This Protection was ſo much

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the more advantageous and neceſſary to him, becauſe there were ſeveral Perſons of Quality in *France* that were Brothers-in-Law or Couſins to Prince *Maurice*, who uſed all their Endeavours to render him ſuſpected, and to have him recalled from that Employment, which was the moſt conſiderable that could be hoped for from *France* in that Conjuncture.

All *Europe* was then in a profound Peace, ſo all Embaſſies at other Courts lay dead, and had no Action ſtirring that was conſiderable. That of *Holland* only was of Importance, by reaſon of the War, which on their part was managed under the Conduct of that Famous Captain Count *Maurice*; and in *Flanders* by the great General *Ambroſe Spinola* a *Genoeſe*. The *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, the *Germans* thoſe that were *Proteſtants*, and the *French* went thither to learn the Rudiments of War under the *Count*; and the *Germans*, the *Italians*, the *Sicilians*, the *Polanders*, and the *Spaniards*, that were *Catholicks*, did the ſame under the *Marqueſs*; ſo it ſeemed as if all the whole *Chriſtian* World was met in this little Corner of the Earth to learn how to fight againſt one another.

France then maintaining divers Companies of Foot, and ſome Troops of Horſe in that Countrey, being very much intereſted in what concerned the Good of the *United Provinces*, who then Employed the Arms of the

the *Spaniards* their ancient Enemies; and having likewiſe very often an Occaſion for the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch* Men of War, the Embaſſador had continually ſome matter of Importance to write to Court, and to diſpatch his Couriers thither. Beſides the King every year gave large Sums to the *Hollanders* for the Payment of the *French* Troops; and the Embaſſador, beſides the Allowance for his Employment, and his Penſions from Court, had moreover fourſcore thouſand Livres a year as Treaſurer in *Holland*; and all the Money went through his Hand. Beſides the great Profit of this Employment, there was likewiſe much Honour and Pleaſure in the Service; for all the *French* Nobility, when they came from the Univerſity, went to learn the Art of War under Prince *Maurice*, as heretofore they had done in *Piedmont* under the great Mareſchal *Briſac*. In Winter the *Hague* was full of *French* Lords and Gentlemen, who to honour their King, and the Perſon of his Miniſter uſed to accompany him to his Audience of the *States-General*; and it not being poſſible to provide Coaches for two or three hundred Gentlemen and Officers, that ſometimes came together, the Embaſſador himſelf uſed to march on Foot at the Head of ſo ſplendid a Company; and his Coach to follow after empty.

I ſhall ſpend no more time upon the Concerns of my Fathers Embaſſy, or his Obligations to the Princeſs *Louiſe* of *Orange*; but return to my principal Matter, and relate what I know concerning *Philip* Prince of *Orange*, eldeſt Son to *William* of *Naſſau*, by his firſt Wife *Anne* of *Egmont*.

Philip

PHILLIP WILLIAM
Prince of Orange.

Philip William *of* Naſſau, *Prince of* Orange, *and* Eleanor *of* Bourbon *his Wife.*

THis Prince was Godſon to King *Philip* the Second; and when Prince *William* his Father was forced to take Arms in his own Defence, he ſtudied in the Colledge of *Lovaine*: where, amongſt other priviledges, it is not permitted to arreſt any perſon upon what account ſoever. Notwithſtanding this, *John Vargas*, a *Spaniard*, accompanied with ſeveral Souldiers of the ſame Nation, took him thence by force, purſuant to an Order from the Duke of *Alva*; in ſpite of all the clamours of the Rector of the Univerſity, who complaining vehemently and in good *Latin*, that their Priviledges were violated, was anſwered by *Vargas* very incongruouſly in this Barbarous expreſſion, *Non curamus Privilegios veſtros.*

The Prince of *Orange* his Father complained of it by Publick Manifeſto's, which ſet forth the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*; and proved that there were neither *Laws* nor *Priviledges*, nor Innocence of Age, that could exempt any perſon from their Tyranny.

This poor Child was carried Priſoner into *Spain* at 13 years old, and ſhut up in a Caſtle in the Country, where he could have no Education, and where he paſs'd the greateſt part of his time in playing at Cheſs, which the Governour of the Caſtle had taught him. Towards the end of his Impriſonment, which was about 30 years, they allow'd him a little more Liberty.

This Prince was naturally Complaiſant; his Body fat, and wore a very large Beard. Being carried young into *Spain*, he continued a Catholick; ſo the *Spaniards*, to juſtifie this unjuſt detention, ſaid they had brought him thither only to preſerve him from the poyſon of Hereſie, and to keep him in ſecurity from it. During his ſtay in *Spain*, the Captain who guarded him having ſpoke much to the diſadvantage of Prince *William* his Father, this generous Son, puſh'd on by affection for his Father, which animated him to reſentment, took him about the middle, threw him out of the Window, and broke his Neck. He thought that ſo bold an action would bring him into trouble: and indeed upon this occaſion there were different advices given in King *Philips* Council, but at laſt it was reſolved to uſe mildneſs, and indulgence in this encounter; *Gabriel Oſorio*, a young Gentleman, who was preſent at the action, having reported it in favour of the Prince, ſaid the Governour had been wanting in his reſpect towards him; ſo this death

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was allowed to his juſt reſentment. The Prince thought himſelf ſo obliged to *Oſorio*, for this favorable repreſentation which he had made of him, that he ever after kept him near his Perſon, and beſtow'd on him a great many favours.

At laſt, King *Philip* II. either moved by ſo long a Captivity, or weary of puniſhing the pretended Iniquity of the Father upon the Son that was Innocent, or rather hoping that his deliverance would raiſe jealouſies and diviſions amongſt the Brothers of the Houſe of *Orange*, (as the eſcape of Monſieur *de Guiſe*, from the Caſtle of *Tours*, had cauſed amongſt the heads of the League) reſolved to releaſe him, after ſo long an Impriſonment.

Then Count *Maurice* ſhewed upon this occaſion, that he had a Soul that was wholly diſintereſted, and let him enjoy all the Eſtates which were then in his Poſſeſſion, as *Breda* and other places; and Madam the Counteſs of *Holoc*, his Siſter by Father and Mother, uſed him very generouſly, making him a Thouſand fair Offers, and rich Preſents, upon his arrival in the *Low Countries*, where they two met at *Cleves*; but Count *Maurice* for fear of being ſuſpected, ſatisfied himſelf with viſiting him by an Envoy.

Prince *Philip* came into *Flanders* with *Albert* the Arch-Duke, who a little while after ſent him back to *Spain*, to bring the Infanta *Iſabella* (afterwards his Wife) into the

Low Countries, to whom her Father *Philip* gave in Marriage, the Soveraignty of the *Seventeen Provinces*; all *Europe* was very much aſtoniſhed, that the Son of a man ſo odious to *Spain*, ſhould be choſe to execute ſo important a Commiſſion, which could not be given him without a large Teſtimony both of Eſteem and Confidence. He lived afterwards in the Court of *Bruſſels* with the Arch-Dukes of *Flanders*: for the States of the *United Provinces* conceived ſuch a diſtruſt of him by reaſon of this employment, and becauſe King *Philip* had re eſtabliſhed him in his Lands, ſituated in the *Spaniſh* Low Countries, and in the *Franche Comte*, which had been confiſcated; that they would never let hi n come to viſit their *Provinces*, much leſs to continue there, though he had often teſtified his deſire of it.

He never appeared there before the Year 16c8, when the Truce with the *Spaniards* was almoſt concluded; and in this Journey he did nothing elſe but reconcile the Princeſs *Emilia* his Siſter, with his Brother Count *Maurice*, who would never ſee her ſince her Marriage with Prince *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, becauſe it had been concluded without his conſent.

He married *Eleanor* of *Bourbon*, the Siſter of the deceaſed Prince of *Conde*, a very virtuous Princeſs, by whom he had no Children. This Marriage with the firſt Princeſs of the Blood of *France*, put him in poſſeſſion of his Prin-

Principality and Town of *Orange*, where the Sieur *de Blacons* who was Governor of it, as being a Kinſman of Monſieur the Marſhal *des Leſdiguierres*, who commanded abſolutely in *Dauphiny*, would not let him enter; but the Sieur *de Blacons*, had ſo many expreſs orders from the King to leave the place; and Monſieur *des Leſdiguierres* had an order to make them be preciſely obeyed, that at laſt the Prince ſaw himſelf poſſeſs'd both of the Place and his Soveraignty; for before he had been look'd upon as an Enemy, having followed the Arch-Duke *Albert* when he was at *Calais*, and would make King *Henry* IV. raiſe the Seige of *Amiens*.

Prince *Philip* farther confeſs'd to his moſt intimate Friends, That in his whole Life he was never in ſo great pain and ſuch ſtrange uneaſineſs, as at the time when the battle of *Newport* was fought; for the Arch-Duke, who preſumed very far upon his own Forces, thinking them as much ſuperior in Valor, as they were in Number, to thoſe of the *Hollanders*, had boaſted, that if he had gained the day, he would ſend the two Brothers, *Maurice* and *Henry Frederick*, bound hand and foot as his Priſoners into *Spain*. So he ſent out his Scouts on every ſide, kept all his Horſes ready ſadled and bridled in his Stable, and his People all in a condition to retire ſuddenly into ſome place of ſafety, thinking that his Brothers being loſt, he likewiſe muſt periſh by the *Spaniards*: ſo that during the whole

fight he was at his Prayers, and made ardent and continual Vows that his Brothers might obtain the Victory.

During the Truce, which was concluded for 12 years, he made a Voyage into *Holland*, in the Year 1615, with *Madam* the Princeſs his Wife, and they lived generally at *Breda*. My Father had the honor to ſee them, and converſe with them often, and he was ſo far in both their good graces, that they helped him to overthrow a great many calumnies which had been invented to draw upon him the indignation of Monſieur the Prince of *Conde*, and ſeveral other Lords and great Perſons of the Kingdom, who during the Minority of the late King, had been ſeveral times in Arms upon diverſe pretences; it having been told them by my Fathers Enemies that during theſe commotions, he had acted with too much heat and violence againſt them, having cauſed ſeveral Veſſels full of Arms to be ſeized, and ſtopped divers Officers from *Holland*, who would have come over to their Service; to all theſe diſobliging actions were added ſome diſcourſes to the diſparagement of theſe great Perſons, which my Fathers Enemies had likewiſe imputed to him.

Theſe Princes had ſo far given credit to ſuch Impoſtors, that not being able to ſeize upon my Fathers Perſon, they teſtified their reſentment by ſacking his Caſtle of *Fountayne Dangé*, near *Chateleraut*, which they pillaged by

by their Troops; but *Mary de Medices*, the Queen Mother, who had knowledge of this diſorder, being then at *Poitiers*, made him ample ſatisfaction; ſo that he had no further loſs, than of ſeveral original Papers, and ancient Titles which were not in her Majeſties Power to repair.

The King himſelf upon this occaſion wrote to my Father as follows,

Monſieur de Maurier,

Then after this are two pages in Cypher.

AS for what remains, I am very ſorry that your Houſe has ſuffered for the Services you have rendred me. I will take care of my Servants, and encourage them to do well by the Protection which I give both to their Perſons and Eſtates. The Sieur de Puyſieux *may acquaint you with what I have ordered upon this account; continue only to ſerve me with care and fidelity as you do at preſent, and you ſhall receive both the Honor and the Profit of it. I pray God keep you* Monſieur de Maurier, *under his holy and ſafe Protection. Written at* Poitiers, Jan. 20, 1616. *Signed* Lewis, *and a little lower.* Brulard.

The Queen likewiſe wrote him the following Letter.

Monſieur de Maurier,

THE King, my Son, anſwers your diſpatch by this Bearer, whoſe intentions I am aſſured you can ſo well execute, as they may produce the effect which we deſire, purſuant to your good Counſels; we confide therefore in your affection and care in this encounter; nor ſhall I add any further Command. You know likewiſe what conſiderations he has made you, for the Houſe which you have loſt in his Service; to which, if you continue firm with the ſame fidelity and diligence, you ſhall receive all poſſible Content and Advantage. I pray God keep you Monſieur de Maurier *in his holy and ſafe Protection. Written at* Poitiers *the* 20th *of* January, 1616. *Signed* Mary, *and a little lower* Brulard.

Monſieur de Puyſieux writ to him likewiſe, towards the end of a long diſpatch.

AS to what concerns your Intereſts, and the loſs and damage you have ſuſtained in your Houſe of Fontayne, *I have not been wanting to repreſent it to their Majeſties, in all thoſe circumſtances which were requiſite; at which they are much concerned, and do not intend that any of their Servants ſhall ſuffer upon account of the good ſervices they have rendred them. They have ordered you* 2000 *Crowns for a Recompence of your loſs, and would have you know, they do it upon that conſideration; and have thought fit to encreaſe your Penſion to* 1000 *Crowns a Year. I wiſh I could ſtill teſtifie more to your content, the extream deſire I have of*

ſerving

ſerving you, that you may know that I am truly your very humble, and very affectionate Servant,

From Poitiers, Jan. 20th 1616. Puyſieux.

Prince *Philip*, and *Madame* his Princeſs, had ſo much goodneſs as to diſabuſe the Princes and Grandees, who had raiſed a war, which they called *the War of the* Henrys, becauſe the greater part of the Heads of that Party were ſo called; Mounſeir the *Prince* was called, *Henry of Bourbon*; Monſieur *du Mayne*, *Henry of Lorrain*; Monſieur *du Longeville*, *Henry of Orleans*; and the Duke of *Bovillon*, *Henry de la Tour*. They told them all, that theſe injurious Speeches were pure inventions to animate them againſt my Father. They acquainted them likewiſe that whilſt he acquitted himſelf of his duty, he all along continued to preſerve that reſpect which was due to them; That for what remained there was no reaſon to object it to him as a crime, to have ſerved his Maſter faithfully. And that he could not without betraying his truſt, and endangering his own ruine, but execute ſuch orders as came to him from Court.

I remember that I ſaw them at our Houſe in my infancy, and particularly the Princeſs, who had the goodneſs to make very much of us, and did my Father the favor to think fit, that one of my Siſters, who was born at that time, ſhould have the honor of bearing her Name of *Eleanor*: She was preſented in

Baptiſm

Baptiſm by Prince *Henry Frederick* of *Orange*, who was her Godfather. This Daughter was married to the Baron *de Mauzè*, near *Rochelle*, Brother to the Marqueſs *de la Ville-dieu*, and died without Children, in 1660. She was a Woman who painted the beſt in *France*, and writ the moſt correctly, whoſe Letters were all of a vigorous and maſculine Stile, without one word that was unneceſſary.

Prince *Philip* died at *Bruſſels*, in the beginning of the Year 1618. He had the Hemorrhoids very much inflamed; and *Gregory* a *German* Chyrurgeon having hurt him with the Syringe whilſt he gave him a Clyſter, a Gangreen inſued, and it was impoſſible to ſave him. The Princeſs his Wife died likewiſe in the ſame Year.

After his Death, Count *Maurice* his Brother took upon him the Quality of Prince of *Orange*, and inherited his whole Eſtate; whereas before he was contented with the bare Title of *Count*.

Mau-

MAURICE.
Prince of Orange.

Maurice of Naſſau, *Prince of* Orange.

THis great Captain has falſified the Proverb, which ſays, *The Children of Heroes are generally good for nothing*; for though he was the Son of a moſt excellent Father, who left behind him an immortal Glory, yet he has not only equall'd him in his prudence and greatneſs of Soul, but has likewiſe ſurpaſſed him in the Art Military, and great Performances; As the Father for 20 years together made the diſcourſe of all *Europe*, ſo the Son for 40 years ſucceſſively, did it much more than all the crown'd Heads in *Europe*: for from the Year 1584, when he came firſt into action, to 1625, when he died, Prince *Maurice* was never mentioned without admiration and aſtoniſhment, as being held for one of the greateſt Captains that has ever yet appeared: In truth, though Nature does not always make extraordinary efforts to produce great men in the ſame family and ſucceſſion, yet the great Actions of the Father are powerful Incentives to ſtir up their Children to imitate them: The Glory of their Anceſtors being a Light, which directs their poſterity to march in thoſe generous paths which they have trod before them.

If.

If the vertue of ſtrangers has often ſtirred up ſome couragious Souls to do great things, (as that *Greek* whoſe reſt was diſcompoſed by the Triumphs of *Miltiades*;) ſure domeſtick examples muſt be much more moving, that they may not incur the ſhame of having degenerated.

Upon this occaſion I ſhall here relate what I have often heard my Father ſay in his latter years, That he had undoubtedly paſt his life in the Country like ſome of his predeceſſors, had not it been for the example of *James Aubrey*, his great Unkle; who by his Vertue, his Knowledge and his Eloquence, diſcharged the office of Advocate General to the Parliament of *Paris*, was Lieutenant *Civil* of the Council to *Henry* the Second, and his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *England*; where he concluded a Peace between *Henry* the Second, and *Edward* the Sixth; and left behind him the reputation of being the French *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, by that famous Plea which he made, purſuant to an order of the King, for the people of *Cabrieres* and *Merindol*; and which *Monſieur* the Chancellor *de Hopital* admired ſo much, that he has tranſlated great part of it into *Latin* verſe. My Father therefore thought, that by his labour he might arrive to honourable employments; and ſo well ordered the Talents which God had given him, that he likewiſe was employed in Embaſſies, and admitted to the Council of his Princes.

Prince

Prince *Maurice* of *Orange* from his very childhood diſcovered the paſſionate deſire he had to follow the glorious ſteps of his Father; and took for the body of his Device the Trunk of a Tree, cut off ſo as to ſeem about two foot high, from whence there grew a vigorous Sprout, which apparently would renew the noble Tree which had produced it, with theſe words, *Tandem fit circulus arbor, At laſt the Sprout becomes a Tree:* To ſhow that he would revive the glories of his Father.

I do not pretend to repreſent the great Actions of this Prince in all the particulars; I ſhan't ſay any thing that may be found in common Annals, nor add to the number of thoſe who tranſcribe other People; my deſign is only to draw the Portraicture of his Perſon and his Manners, to inform the World of ſome tranſactions of his Life which are not known, and to ſet forth the cauſes of thoſe great differences which hapned between him and Mr. *Barneveld*; which, as it was thought, would have overturn'd the Commonwealth, by an inteſtine diviſion that has remained almoſt to this day, and threaten'd its ruine if it had not been prevented.

But before we come to theſe things, it is neceſſary briefly to repreſent his principal Actions, and to tell you, That Prince *Maurice* had a great ſtock of Conſtancy and Courage from the 17th year of his age, when he was called to the government of Affairs upon

on the deceaſe of his Father; for he was not caſt down by that torrent of Succeſs which attended *Alexander Farneſe* Duke of *Parma*, Governor and Captain General for the King of *Spain*, who had then taken *Bruges*, *Ghent*, *Dendermond*, *Deventer*, *Nimeghen*, the *Grave*, with a great many other places, and even *Antwerp* it ſelf, (which was held for impregnable) by a Siege, which was looked upon as a Miracle of the Age; having ſtopped the River *Schelde*, and repell'd the force of the Sea by a Dyke, which was then held as a thing impoſſible, and which afterwards ſet an Example for undertaking the ſame thing at *Rochel*. Prince *Maurice* was not more diſturbed by the confuſion and diſorder that had reigned for a long time in the Commonwealth, occaſioned by the haughty conduct of *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter*, Captain General for the Queen of *England* in the *United Provinces*, whoſe inſupportable Pride, and unmeaſurable Ambition, did them more prejudice than the Sums of Money which he brought, and the Troops which he commanded, ever contributed to their Service; for four entire years the States were reduced to ſtrange Extremities, ſo that it was thought impoſſible for this young Prince to rid himſelf of ſo great Difficulties; and to cure thoſe Evils which were occaſioned by the Intrigues of *Spain*, and the Treachery of ſome of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Dependants; who, after their return into *England*, ſold the moſt important

portant places to the *Spaniards*. To be ſhort, as the Affairs of this World do not always continue in the ſame poſture, and are ſubject to a perpetual change, ſo that good Fortune, which till then had favoured the Duke of *Parma* in all his Enterprizes, of a ſudden came over to the Party of Prince *Maurice*; for the *Spaniſh* Navy, which they had entitled *The Invincible*, and was deſigned to ſwallow up *England*, and the *United Provinces*, was deſtroyed in the year 1588. by the Fleet, and good fortune of Queen *Elizabeth*; the third part of ſo great a Navy ſcarce returning into the *Spaniſh* Havens, after having undergone incredible dangers upon the Coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and this ineſtimable loſs was accompanied with the mortification which the Duke of *Parma* received before *Berghen ap-zoom*, which he had beſieged; Prince *Maurice* having forced him to quit his Enterprize, with the entire ruine of his Reputation.

After this Succeſs the Prince, for the courſe of 20 years, to the time of the Truce, had fortune ſtill ſo favourable to him, that he conquered 38 or 40 Towns, and more Fortreſſes, and defied the *Spaniards* in open Field at three ſignal Battels: beſides, he obtained ſeveral great Victories at Sea, as well upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, as upon that of *Spain* and the *Indies*, by the Valor of his Lieutenants and Vice-admirals.

But

But nothing gained him ſo much Reputation, as the happy Surprizal of the Town and Caſtle of *Breda*, which belonged to his own Propriety. He made himſelf Maſter of it in 1590, by the ſtratagem of a Boat of Turfs, without any effuſion of Blood, or loſing ſo much as one Soldier upon ſo important an occaſion; and ſince this remarkable Action has made ſo great a noiſe in the World, it may not be unneceſſary to give ſome account of it, in as brief terms as poſſible.

A Boatman, called *Adrian Bergues*, who furniſhed the Gariſon of *Breda* with Turfs, being diſcontented with the *Spaniards*, propoſed a way to Prince *Maurice*, how to ſurprize the place, by placing ſome Soldiers in the bottom of his Boat. The Prince ſeeing the probability of the matter, gave the management of this great deſign to *Charles de Heraugiere*, a *Walloon* Gentleman, Native of *Cambray*, Captain of Foot in his Guards, reputed a Man of Bravery and Conduct. As ſoon as he received this Order, he made choice of 70 Soldiers out of ſeveral Companies, and ſome Commanders, whoſe Courage had been tryed. Theſe he put at the bottom of the Boat, where they were placed very uneaſily, as being forced either to lie down or ſtoop, the reſt of the Boat being filled up with Turfs to a very great height. It was extreme cold weather; beſides, they were up to the knees in water, which came in by a leak, which at

laſt

laſt they fortunately ſtopped. The exceſſive cold made them cough very much, but above all, *Matthew Helt*, a Lieutenant, (whoſe name ought to be remembred here in teſtimony of the Courage he ſhew'd upon this occaſion) not being able to hinder himſelf from coughing as they came near to the Caſtle, drew his Sword, and deſired his Comrades to kill him, that the Enterprize might not fail, and he become the cauſe of their ruine; but the Boatman hindred him from being heard, by often pumping, as if his Boat had took water.

The Garriſon, conſiſting of *Italians*, wanted Firing, the Soldiers, becauſe of the Ice, helped to draw the Boat by a Sluce within the walls of the Caſtle, as the *Trojans* brought the wooden Horſe into their City; which gave occaſion to the Poets of the time, to compare the taking of *Breda* to that of *Troy*; but withal remarking this difference, that the Horſe made the Enemies Maſters of *Troy*, from whence proceeded its ruine, whereas this Boat put the right Lord into poſſeſſion of *Breda*, who thereupon cauſed it immediately to flouriſh.

Prince *Maurice* having ſpread the report that he had a deſign upon *Gertrudemberg*, made the Surprizal of *Breda* become more eaſie; for *Edward Lanza vechia*, who was Governor of both places, ran to that which he thought was moſt in danger. So the Caſtle being without a Commander was eaſily carried. As ſoon as *Heraugiere* had made himſelf Maſter

of it by the death of 40 of the Enemy, Prince *Maurice*, attended by the Counts *de Hohenlo* and *Solmes*, *Francis Vere* the General of the *Engliſh*, *Juſtin* of *Naſſau* the Admiral, and the Sieur *de Famars* General of the Artillery, being entred into the Caſtle with ſeveral of his Troops, was afterwards received into the Town, whence the *Italian* Garriſon, which, for the moſt part, conſiſted of Horſe, ran, with full ſpeed, by the way of *Antwerp*.

Heraugiere, with a great deal of Juſtice, was made Governor of *Breda*, and *Lambert Charles* a *French* Man, a brave Soldier of Fortune, was made Serjeant Major: I ſaw him afterwards when he was Governor of *Nimeguen*. There were Medals ſtamped upon ſo conſiderable an occaſion, which had theſe words upon one ſide,

Breda *à Servitute* Hiſpanica *vindicata ductu Principis* Mauricii *à* NASSAU. 4 *Martii* 1590.

Breda delivered from the *Spaniſh* Yoke, by the conduct of Prince *Maurice* of *NASSAU*. *March* 4. 1590.

And upon the Reverſe was repreſented a Boat, with theſe words,

Parati vincere aut mori, prepared to overcome or dye.

One

One of these Medals was given to each of the Soldiers in the Boat, as likewise a Sum of Money, with the promise of future advancement; *Adrian de Bergues* the Boatman had likewise a Medal, and was rewarded with a very large Pension.

This Surprizal may occasion this necessary Reflection, That ye ought never to trust the guard of two Frontier places at the same time to one only Governor, who has but too much trouble to preserve his own Government from the neighbouring Enemy, whose mind is always intent, and his eyes open, for some opportunity to be able to surprize him.

The taking of *Hulst* in *Flanders*, was a very considerable Action, and that of *Gertrudemberg* much more so, by reason of a long and difficult siege, in sight of the *Spanish* Army, consisting of 30000 Men, commanded by the old Count *Peter Ernest of Mansfeldt*, in the absence of the Duke of *Parma*, who was then in *France*, with Succors for the *League*: This old General could never force the young Prince in his own Lines, nor oblige him to come out of them, though he presented him battle each day continually; so that when Count *Mansfeldt* said one day to a Trumpeter whom P. *Maurice* had sent him, That he admired his Master, who was a young Prince, full of heat and courage, would always contain himself within the covert of his own retrenchments; the Trumpeter answered him, That his Excellency of *Nassau*, was a young Prince,

who desired to become one day such an old and experienced General, as his Excellency of *Mansfeldt* was at present.

The year following he took the great and famous Town of *Groninghen*, Capital of the Province; he likewise took, and retook *Rimbergues*, and seized upon *Maurs*, and the *Grave*, Towns belonging to his own Patrimony; having by the death of several *Spaniards* revenged the public injuries and those of his Private Family.

The Reputation of Prince *Maurice* was very much increased, by the long and memorable defence of *Ostend*, where the *Spaniards* having lost more than Threescore Thousand Men, in a Siege that continued above 3 Years, and exhausted their Treasures by the expence of above two Millions, at last became Masters of a bit of ground which might seem to be a burying place rather than a City.

At the time of this loss Prince *Maurice* was so happy and diligent, that to return it with Usury, in a few days he seized upon the Town of *Sluise* in *Flanders*, which was of more consequence than *Ostend*, that had cost so many Men, so much Time, and so vast a Treasure; upon which *Theophilus* says very well in the Ode he made for the Prince of *Orange*.

Much

Much time, and many years the Spaniards (*ſpend*
Before their Forces gain Oſtend.
But, Sir, when you reſolve to ſeize a Town,
Few Days ſuffice to beat its Bulwarks down.
Each Day of yours much more importance bears,
Than all that ſpace of time, which mortal Men call (*Years.*

This Ode did not diſpleaſe Prince *Maurice*, and tho he was naturally an Enemy to Flattery, and Vain-glory, yet he recompenced this Poet with a Chain of Gold, and his Medal, to a very great value.

But this Prince ſhowed at the battle of *Newport*, where he overcame the Arch-Duke *Albert*, that he knew as well how to defeat a numerous and well appointed Army in open field, as to defend places, or elſe to force and ſurprize them. The Arch-Duke, and the Duke *d' Aumale* were wounded in the fight, *Francis Mendoza* Admiral of *Arragon*, *Maiſter de Campe*, was taken Priſoner, with a great many other Commanders, and even the Arch-Dukes Pages, whom Prince *Maurice* ſent him back very civilly, without any Ranſom. All the Cannon, the Baggage, and above 100 Cornets and Colors, remained in the hands of the Conqueror, who ſaw above 6000 Enemies dead upon the place, and had all other marks of a full and entire Victory; which made ſeveral People ſay,

becauſe this great Succeſs happened upon the 2d day of *July*, that the Fortune of the Houſe of *Naſſau* was changed, ſeeing that 300 years before, upon the ſame day of *July*, the Emperor *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, had loſt his Life and Empire near *Spire*, in a Battle againſt *Albert* of *Auſtria*; and that the ſame day *Maurice* had revenged the diſgrace of his Anceſtors, by the defeat of the Arch-Duke *Albert*, who was a Deſcendant from the former *Albert* of *Auſtria*.

A little before the fight, there was a diſpute of Honor, between Prince *Maurice*, and Prince *Henry Frederick* his younger Brother, who was then but 17 Years old; for when the Elder deſired him to retire into ſome place of Safety, that in caſe of any misfortune, he might defend his Family, and his Country; Prince *Henry* being offended, ſaid, he would run the ſame fortune with himſelf, and live or dye by him.

Prince *Maurice* ſhowed that no ill ſucceſs could daunt his courage, for the Reſolution he had taken to give Battle, was not altered notwithſtanding that the night before the *Arch-Duke* had defeated the Count *Erneſt*, whom the Prince had ſent to ſeize a paſs, with 2 Regiments of Foot, and 4 Troops of Horſe, that were all cut off, and ſeveral Colors, with 2 pieces of Cannon taken.

It is remarkable that the *Prince*, to take away from his Army all hopes of a retreat, and to ſhow his Men that they had nothing

to

to truſt to, but their Arms, made all thoſe Veſſels that brought them into *Flanders* to be ſent away, for which he was much commended by the Admiral of *Arragon*, as the thing which had gained him the Victory by, the neceſſity that was laid upon his Soldiers to fight boldly, as having no proſpect of Life but in the defeat of the *Spaniards*; ſo he told his Men before the fight, that they muſt either overcome the Enemy, or drink up all the water in the Sea. There came out at that time a magnificent Inſcription upon this Battle, in honor of Prince *Maurice*, which is this.

Anno 1600 *ſecunda die Julij, Mauricius Aranſionenſium Princeps in Flandriam terram hoſpitem traducto exercitu cum Alberto Archiduce Auſtriæ conflixit, copias ejus cecidit, Duces multos primumq; Mendoſam cœpit, reverſus ad ſuos victor ſigna hoſtium centum quinque in Hagienſi Capitolio ſuſpendit Deo Bellatori.*

In the year 1600, *the* 2d *day of* July, Maurice *Prince of* Orange, *having brought his Army into* Flanders, *then poſſeſſed by his Enemy, fought with* Albert *Arch-Duke of* Auſtria, *ſlew his Forces, took ſeveral Commanders, and eſpecially* Mendoza, *then returning Conqueror to his Country, he hung up* 105 *of the Enemies Colors, in the Councel Houſe at the* Hague, *to the Honor of God the Diſpoſer of Victory.*

This was not his firſt Eſſay of a Field Battle, for otherwiſe he might have paſſed for one, that was good only at the taking of Towns, but he had long before forced the Duke of *Parma* to raiſe the Seige of *Knotſemburg*, over againſt *Nimiguen*, having defeated 7 Troops of his beſt Cavalry; a diſgrace which the Duke leſſen'd, by the neceſſity laid upon him, by Orders from *Spain*, to go and ſuccor *Roan*.

In the year 1594, he had likewiſe at the Battle of *Tournhout*, defeated and ſlain the Lord *de Balancon*, Count *de Varax*, General of the Artillery of *Spain*, who commanded a body of 6000 Foot, and 600 Horſe, of which, beſides the General, above 2000 were left upon the place, with ſeveral Priſoners of Note, amongſt whom, a Count of *Mansfeldt* was one; there were 38 Enſigns taken, with the Cornet of *Alonzo de Mondragon*, which were all hung up in the great Hall of the Caſtle at the *Hague*, for a perpetual Memorial.

And upon this occaſion, I ſhall here relate, how an Ambaſſador of *Poland*, being come from King *Sigiſmond*, to exhort the States General to reconcile themſelves to the King of *Spain*, whoſe Power he magnified ſo far, as that ſooner or later it would entirely ſubdue them, and ſpeaking as if he would frighten them with lofty words, full of Vanity, and according to the Eloquence of his Nation: Count *Maurice*, who was then preſent

preſent at this Harrangue, upon his going out of the Aſſembly, led the Ambaſſador into this Hall, where he ſhow'd him all the Colors and Cornets, taken from the *Spaniards* at *Knotſemburg*, and *Turnholt*, and without uſing many words, let him underſtand, that in reality the King of *Spain* was not altogether ſo invincible.

But as Prince *Maurice* was victorious at Land, ſo he was not leſs ſucceſsful at Sea, having always got great Advantages over the *Spaniards*, by the Conduct of his Vice-Admirals.

They were aſſiſting to the ruine of the *Spaniſh* Flota, ſtiled the *Invincible*, and brought ſeveral of the Galeons into *Zealand*.

In the year 1596, *John de Duvenvorde*, Lord of *Varmont*, contributed his help to the Earl of *Eſſex*, in taking the Town of *Cales*, and burning the *Spaniſh* Fleet, for which Queen *Elizabeth* returned thanks to the ſaid Sieur *de Varmont*, by a very obliging Letter, which extreamly commends his Bravery.

In the year 1599, the Vice-Admiral *Peter Vanderdoes*, ſeized upon *Allagona*, Capital of the *Canary Iſlands*, where he forced the *Spaniards* to fly into the Mountains, and followed them even thither, and then having ſacked and burnt the place, returned victorious to his own Country.

In the year 1603, *Don Frederick Spinola*, not being able to endure that theſe Veſſels of *Zealand* ſhould always lye before the Haven of

of *Sluiſe*, went out, with 8 Gallies, and ſome other Veſſels of War to chaſe 'em thence; He was ſlain in the fight, and his Fleet ſo ill handled, that it was conſtrained to retreat into *Sluiſe* with a conſiderable loſs: not to mention here a great many other conſiderable advantages obtained in the *Indies*, and diverſe other parts of the World, over the Veſſels of the *Caſtilians*, and the *Portugueſes*.

This is what I ſhall ſay in general of this great Prince, only adding, that in the year 1622, the Truce of 12 years being expired, and the Marqueſs *Ambroſe Spinola*, having beſieged *Berghen ap Zoom*, with all the Forces of *Spain*, the Prince of *Orange* made him raiſe the Siege, being aſſiſted by Count *Erneſt* of *Mansfeldt*, and *Chriſtian* Duke of *Brunſwick*, that he had expreſly ſent for out of *Germany*. Theſe Generals had taken Arms in favor of the King of *Bohemia*, and paſſing through *Brabant*, had defeated at *Fleurus*, (if my memory does not fail me) *Don Gonſalvo* of *Corduba*, who was ſent to oppoſe their paſſage: In the fight the Duke of *Brunſwick* had an Arm cut off as he was forcing a Barricade, which obliged him to wear one of Silver, which I myſelf have ſeen.

There was great rejoycing through all the United Provinces for this happy Victory, public Thankſgivings were ordered to be made in every Town, where there were ſuch prodigious Bonfires, that they ſeemed to be all on fire. So this Count of *Mansfeldt*, and

and the Duke of *Brunſwick* contributed to the Prince of *Orange*'s Glory, which ſeemed to have been decay'd and worn out of Mens minds by ſo long a Truce, but was renewed and revived throughout the whole World, by ſo illuſtrious an Action.

And becauſe that here there has been occaſion to ſpeak of theſe two Men, who in their time were the ſcourges of Mankind, it may not be amiſs to let the Prince of *Orange* reſt a little, and to relate what I know of their manner of Proceedings, and their Principal Encounters.

This Count *Erneſt* was a Baſtard of the famous Houſe of *Mansfeldt*, which has produced great Generals; he was a Man ſo ſubtile and cunning, that ſome have rightly ſtiled him *Ulyſſes Germanicus*, or the *German Ulyſſes*. He was ſo bold, as to maintain the Quarrels of the Elector *Palatine*, elected King of *Bohemia*, with a great deal of Conſtancy and Reſolution, againſt the Family of *Auſtria*; He had ſeveral ſucceſſes both unfortunate and happy; at laſt being called into *Holland* to the ſuccor of *Berghen ap Zoom*, I remember that I ſaw him there; he was then about 50 years old, fair, much wrinkled, of a good ſtature, but a little ſtooping; He always wore a gray Hat, without a Hatband, and ſaid that he would never put it off till he had made his Fortune, which I myſelf have heard him ſpeak. *France*, that too late underſtood its true Intereſt, (for it had unadviſedly ſacrificed the Elector

Palatine

Palatine to the fury of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as I ſhall more fully relate hereafter) aſſiſted him with a Sum of Money, which my Father paid him, and with the ſuccor of 4000 Foot, under the conduct of Monſieur *de Mantereau*, who had his Winter Quarters in Eaſt *Frizeland*, beyond the River *Ems*, with the Troops of Count *Mansfeldt*.

This New *Attila* afterwards ravaged the lower *Saxony*, from whence being chaced by the Count *de Tilly* the Emperors General, he marched through the Country of *Brandenburg* into *Sileſia*, where he had ſome fortunate Succeſſes, and from thence at laſt retired to *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of *Tranſylvania*. A little after, as this unquiet Spirit, fruitful in new Expeditions, was going to *Venice*, to propoſe ſome League, paſſing through *Boſnia* in *November* 1626, he was taken with a violent pain in his Bowels, of which he died, not without ſuſpition of Poyſon, and was buried at *Spalatro*. He was a man of great Courage, who run through and ravaged the greateſt part of *Germany*, having ſpread the terror of himſelf both within and without the Empire, and ſo frightned *Champaigne* and *Paris* itſelf, when *Montpelier* was beſieged, where the late King was then in Perſon, that the moſt part of the Inhabitants of that great City, ſeeing their King and his principal Forces upon the Confines of his Realm, conveyed themſelves, with what they moſt eſteemed to the City of *Orleans*, to avoid a Fire

Fire which conſumed all things that were found in its way: Some Blockheads of *Paris* being frightened with his approach, commonly called him *Bloody Bones*, and uſed his Name to frighten Children that were troubleſome.

As to Duke *Chriſtian* of *Brunſwick*, he was of the illuſtrious and ancient Houſe of *Brunſwick*, one of the richeſt and moſt powerful in all *Germany*, which at preſent maintains Armies both within and without the Empire, and which having conquered the Dutchy of *Bremen*, aſſiſts the Kings of *Spain* and *Denmark*, the *Hollanders* and Elector of *Brandenburg* with its Forces. This Duke *Chriſtian* was commonly called *Halberſtat*, becauſe he was Biſhop of that place, and ſometimes *Dol Hartzoch*, which is as much as to ſay, one that acts like a Madman. He was a Prince of good Mein, and well made; he was very brave, but his Courage had ſomething more of Brutiſhneſs than true Valor: for when he ſaw a Workman on the top of a Steeple, he took no greater pleaſure than to fetch him down with a Stone, which in my time he did in *Holland*: He had a great Paſſion for the Queen of *Bohemia*, from whom he had taken an *Engliſh* Glove, which I ſaw him wear, tied to a String in his Hat, and hanging below the brims of it.

Having raiſed an Army in Lower *Saxony*, and not having wherewithal to pay it, he turned a Statue of S^t. *Liberius* into Money, which

which was much bigger than the Life, and at that time in the Cathedral Church of *Paderburn*. This Saint *Liberius* had been Bishop of *Mans*. Such a beginning enticed him farther, and knowing that at *Munster* there were 12 Apostles, all of Silver, of a prodigious bigness; he went thither, and seizing upon the place, marched directly to the great Church called the *Dome*, accompanied with all his Collonels and Captains, made a Speech to these Apostles, reproaching them with their Idleness and Disobedience, in not observing the commands of their Master, to go instantly through all the World, in these words, *Go throughout all Nations*; swearing that he would make them Travellers, and become obedient: So he immediately commanded to coin them into Rix Dollars, with which he paid his Army, and so spread them throughout all *Germany*. He had taken this for his Device, *Gottes freindt, und der Pfaffen feint*, which is to say, *Friend of God, and Enemy of Priests*, whom he slew, or at least guelt them, without any remission; at last this outragious Spirit departed in 1626, at *Wolfenbottle*, of a burning Fever in the prime of his Youth.

After having raised the Seige of *Berghen op Zoom*, *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* did nothing considerable besides the Project he laid for the surprize of *Antwerp*, but Heaven and the Winds were opposite to his design; he had given so good order for every thing, the Under-

Undertaking was ſo well laid, and he promiſed to himſelf ſuch a happy Iſſue, that he ſaid that it was God alone that could hinder the Succeſs.

Prince *Maurice* before he had reſolved to ruine Mr. *de Barneveld*, honored my Father with his eſteem and confidence, inſomuch that he undertook his defence againſt thoſe that had aſperſed him, as his elder Brother Prince *Philip*, and his *Princeſs* had done before; which was very well known to all thoſe who were then in *Holland*, and which appears evidently by a Letter which Prince *Maurice* writ to Monſieur *de Villeroy*, after the Peace of *Landau*, wherein he not only juſtifies my Fathers conduct, but moreover tells him, that the Court had no Perſon thereabouts, who could ſerve *France* ſo much as my Father, and that was ſo agreeable to him and the *States General*. The Letter is this.

SIR,

AT my return from Zeland, *upon the inſtances that were made me by Monſieur* de Maurier *the Kings Ambaſſador, for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the* French *Officers in their Employments, I uſed my endeavors for the ſatisfaction of their Majeſties, the States having taken the ſame Reſolution, their Act ſhall be executed; I am very much pleaſed that the Troubles in your Kingdom have been ſo happily compoſed, and particularly that your Labors have ſo well ſucceeded in it, wiſhing that this repoſe*

repoſe may be of long continuance to the proſperity of their Majeſties, which is the thing that I deſire: beſides, although the Care and Diligence which Monſieur Maurier *has ſhow'd in his faithful Execution of the Kings Commands, may ſpeak ſufficiently for themſelves, yet I muſt render this Teſtimony to his Behavior, that it has been ſuch as has ſerved their Majeſties heartily, and to the purpoſe, without giving any one reaſon to complain, having managed all his Actions, which are very well known to us, with Modeſty, Reſpect and Honor, and thus much I can give you certain aſſurance of; whereas if any other reports may be ſpread to his Prejudice, they muſt do great injuſtice to his Conduct and Integrity: The States General and all of us, are fully ſatisfied with his whole proceedings, and think their Majeſties cannot hereafter make uſe of any other Miniſter, that will be more faithful and ſerviceable to themſelves, or more agreeable to this Commonwealth, which, as I have reaſon, I muſt declare to be my own opinion; and with that I ſhall conclude, together with aſſurance of my deſire to ſerve you, and prayers to God to give you health and long life. Sir, your very affectionate Servant*

Maurice *of* Naſſau.

This Letter, and ſeveral others of the ſame Strain, which Madam the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*, and the principal Perſons in the Country had writ to Court, contradicted the Aſperſions of ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who had aſſured the *Queen Mother* and her Miniſters, that my Father was diſagreeable to the *Prince* and *States General*. In

In ſhort, Prince *Maurice*, upon all occaſions, gave my Father very ſignal marks of his Eſteem and Friendſhip; ſo that in the Year 1615, having a Son born, the Prince would be his Godfather, and gave him his own name of *Maurice*, with a little Picture of a great value, this is he who has been known by the name of *Villaumaine*, and who having paſt all his Life in *Holland*, where he was born, arriv'd by 40 years Service and his own Merit, without any favor, to the command of Collonel; He had a mortal averſion for this laſt war, for he drew his extraction from *France*, where his Family was eſtabliſhed; on the other ſide he ſaw himſelf obliged to defend the place of his Birth, where he had all his effects, and where he was at laſt arrived to an honorable Poſt, by an extraordinary Patience: never Man had more true Friends than he, and they of all Nations, ſo that he gained the Eſteem of all the conſiderable *Frenchmen* that had known him in *Holland*, amongſt others of Monſieur *de Beringhen*, chief Querry to the King, of Mr. *de St. Romain*, who was Ambaſſador in *Portugal* and *Switzerland*; and towards his latter days, of the Princeſs of *Tarentum*: He lived in great Eſteem for his Valor and Fidelity, and died, at the Head of his Regiment in the Battle of *Senef*, very much lamented by all that knew him, and by the Prince of *Orange* himſelf, who placed a great Confidence in him. I hope I ſhall be pardoned for the tenderneſs I

had for this only Brother that was left me, which occasioned this digression.

But let us now come to the description of Prince *Maurice*'s Person and Manners, even to the secrets of his Life, which have not hitherto been divulged, as I have learnt them from my Father, and several Noble Persons of that Country.

This Prince was very strong, and indefatigable in Labor; he appeared lesser than he was, by being full and fat; his Face was plump and ruddy, his Beard fair, which he wore very large and broad; he always made use of little pleated Ruffs about his Neck: He never clothed himself but after the same fashion, with the same Stuff, and that always of a sort of brown or musk color; his Doublet was of Silk with Gold stripes, the rest of his Cloaths were Woollen, but his Cloaks, or long Coats, were faced with Velvet; I speak of his common Habit, and not of those that were designed for great Feasts and public Assemblies. He often wore in his Hat a Band of Diamonds, he was never without a Girdle, to which was fastened a sort of Belt for his Sword, that was gilt: I never saw him in any other Habit, and yet I have minded him a thousand times, at the *French* Church, in the Castle at the *Hague*, which heretofore was a Chappel for the Counts of *Holland*, and often at my Fathers, whither he used to come, either to eat, or play at Chess, which was his chief diversion; for during the

Truce,

Truce, when he was not buſy in war, he often plaid at it, and for that reaſon look'd upon ſuch as did ſo. He had a great affection for Mr. *de la Caze*, a brave Captain of *Bearn*, whoſe Son ſerved in the Troops of *Holland*, and played very well at it. This Mr. *de la Caze* had no Revenue more certain, than what he won of the Prince at this Play, ſcarce ever parting from him without 9 or 10 Crowns of Gold, which was worth more to him than his Company. They never plaid for above one at a time, without ever doubling, but *la Caze* that he might not diſhearten the Prince, would let him win one Game in three or four.

This Monſieur *de la Caze* has told my Father, that the Prince would be very much vexed when he loſt, which happens even to the greateſt Men; and the reaſon is evident, becauſe it is their own fault if they loſe, for this Game does not depend at all upon chance, but good conduct; and 'tis very provoking to ſee ones ſelf ſurpaſſed by others in Knowledge or Judgment. Monſieur *de la Caze* ſaid, that when the Prince had loſt, and it was late before they gave over Play, the wax Lights being almoſt burnt out, he would pull his Hat down over his Eyes without riſing from his Seat, or bidding him good Night; but at ſuch times as *la Caze* had let him win, the Prince would be very pleaſant, conduct him on his way, and command his Pages to light and wait upon him to his

Lodgings; Such particulars as theſe ſhow the temper of People, and that the greateſt Men are not without their weakneſſes. In relation to Cheſs, Prince *Philip* of *Orange* told my Father, that he had heard for certain in *Spain*, when he was there a Priſoner, that an old *Spaniſh* Lord having been winner all the Evening at this Play, and continuing ſo good part of the Night with King *Philip* the 2d, without being ſo complaiſant as to let him carry one Game, and having remarked much diſturbance in the Kings Countenance, he told his Children upon his return home, that he muſt depart the day following, and never think of coming back to Court, where there was nothing to be done or hoped for, either for himſelf or them, becauſe he had beat the King at Cheſs all that Night, and ſhould never be forgiven for it.

Prince *Maurice* uſed to make himſelf very merry with us *Frenchmen*, who to cloath themſelves after the Faſhion of thoſe times, wore ſlaſht Doublets, with one ſingle Shirt, which made thoſe freeze that look'd upon them, being ſo thin cloathed, and ſhivering, in the midſt of Winter, which is very long and ſharp in *Holland*; and as he was jeſting one day upon them in a great Company, one of theſe Gentlemen told him, he had a way to deceive People, for he had two Shirts on, and that nothing was ſo warm as two Shirts; the Prince was pleaſant, cried, Lay a wager upon it; to which the other replying, That he

he knew nothing warmer than two Shirts, Prince *Maurice* anſwered, That undoubtedly three were warmer than two; and that the weather was cold enough for him to make uſe of them.

Prince *Maurice* related to my Father, that one Winter at the *Hague*, when there was a great many *German* Princes of his Kindred there, they met one day at one of the chief Inns to divert themſelves, where after having drank till ſcarce any of them could ſee, one of the Company propoſed the putting out the Lights, and throwing Stools at one another all night long, which being done, one of theſe ſoveraign Princes found his Arm broke, another his Knee out of joynt, another his Skull crackt, and thoſe that came off beſt had horrible Bruiſes and black Eyes; after this they were all forced to go to Bed, and conſider what to do with themſelves. This Story the Prince learnt from Monſieur *Luc* his Surgeon, a *Frenchman*, very expert in his Profeſſion, who was called to their help upon this occaſion: Prince *Maurice* ſmilingly ask'd my Father, if this was not a very fine and agreeable diverſion for the Princes his Relations, and whether they had not extraordinary reaſon to boaſt of their Paſtime.

Prince *Maurice* loved Mathematicians and Engineers very well, and amongſt others of that age, he very much eſteemed Monſieur *Alcome*, one excellent in the profeſſion, to whom he gave a large Penſion, though he

had a very good one from the King; but there was no body could teach the Prince in that Science, he having contrived ſeveral fine Inventions for the paſſage of Rivers, and ſiege of places, ſo that in his Age, he ſerved for a Pattern to Engineers, as well as Captains.

He would not ſuffer his Troopers to wear ſtraight Boots, ſaying great inconveniencies might ariſe from thence, being often in haſte to get on Horſeback; ridiculing us *Frenchmen*, for affecting to have fine Legs, ſo that they would be whole hours in getting their Boots off, or on; and to ſet them an example, he had his own Boots ſo large, that he could almoſt leap into them. He did not approve thoſe *Italian* Grooms who taught their Horſes to prance, which he ſaid was very dangerous, and had been the death of ſeveral People; he had no People to manage his Horſes, and was content if they would only turn to the right and left.

During the Truce, the King of *France* ſent him a magnificent Preſent of *Spaniſh* Horſes by Monſieur *de Pluvenelle*, Querry to his Majeſty, who had the honor to teach the King to ride, being a perſon of great Reputation, and the moſt famous Man of his time in that Art.

The Prince, though he was very vigilant and laborious, yet had ſo great a Quietneſs of Mind, that ſo ſoon as ever he was in Bed, and his Head laid upon the Pillow, he fell into

into ſo ſound a Sleep, that it was a difficult matter to wake him; but knowing his own infirmity, that he might not be ſurprized in time of War, as his Father, who was of the ſame Complexion, was like to have been in his Tent, near *Malines*, after having given neceſſary orders, he made two Men watch by turns every hour, with command to wake him, if any accident ſhould happen. Marqueſs *Spinola* was of a humor quite contrary to the Prince, and could never ſleep if he had the leaſt buſineſs upon his Spirits; the Marqueſs was very lean, the Prince very fat, and their Tempers very different; the one being dry and choleric, the other plump and ſanguine.

Prince *Maurice*, being one day in a good humor, told my Father, That *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, by a weakneſs common to her Sex, had ſo extraordinary a deſire to be thought handſom, that when the *States General* had ſent her a magnificent Embaſſy, which conſiſted of the principal perſons of their Country, accompanied by a great many young Gentlemen of the *United Provinces*, a *Hollander* who was in the Ambaſſadors Train at their firſt Audience, having looked earneſtly upon the Queen, told an *Engliſh* Gentleman, with whom he had been acquainted in *Holland*, that he ſaw no reaſon why the Queens Beauty ſhould be generally ſpoke of to ſo much diſadvantage; that he thought People much to blame for doing it,

that to him ſhe ſeemed very agreeable, and that if he durſt, he would let her ſee what paſſions ſhe was able to raiſe in a young Gentleman; with ſeveral other ſuch like diſcourſes, often looking upon the Queen, and then applying himſelf to the *Engliſhman*. The Queen who took more exact notice of the private perſons than the Ambaſſadors, as ſoon as the Audience was ended, ſent for the *Engliſhman*, and commanded him on pain of her diſpleaſure to tell her, what his diſcourſe was with the *Hollander*, being certain that it was concerning her, as was evident by their mein and behavior. The Gentleman made a great many excuſes, ſaying it was not worth her Majeſties knowledge, at laſt the Queen being very urgent, he was forced to declare the whole matter, and confeſs the extream paſſion which the *Hollander* had teſtified for her Royal perſon. The event of the affair was this, that the Ambaſſadors were each of them preſented with a Chain of Gold worth 800 Crowns, and every one of their Retinue with one of 100 Crowns; but the *Hollander* who thought the Queen ſo handſom, had a Chain of 1600 Crowns, which he wore about his Neck as long as he lived.

This Queen, who had a Thouſand great qualities, had ſtill the vanity of being thought handſom by all the world, and I have heard my Father ſay upon this occaſion, that being ſent to her, in every Audience

that

that he had, ſhe would pull her Glove off a hundred times to ſh ow her hands, which were very white and handſom.

But to return to the character of Prince *Maurice*, he was naturally good and juſt, and died with the reputation of an exemplary Honeſty; to ſhow that he deſerved this character, I need only relate the following Story. Two of his Domeſtics who were *Frenchmen*, one called *John de Paris*, who waited upon him in his Chamber, the other one of his Halberdeers, named *John de la Vigne*, having aſſaſſinated a Jeweller of *Amſterdam*, who had Stones of a great Value, which he would have ſold the *Prince*; he was ſo far from protecting them, (as ſeveral Perſons of Quality would have thought it concerned their Honor ſo do) that on the contrary, he himſelf proſecuted the Actors of ſo inhumane a Butchery, and made them both be broke alive upon the Wheel.

If this great and juſt character of Prince *Maurice*, might be any way in the leaſt ſullied in the opinion of ſome perſons, it was occaſioned by his conteſts with Monſieur *Barnevelt*, who had been one of the principal Miniſters, and Confidents of Prince *William* his Father, and who after his Death got the ſoveraign Command both by Sea and Land, to be put into the hands of Prince *Maurice*; for People being in a terrible confuſion after that diſaſter, and ſeveral ſeeing themſelves deprived of their principal ſupport,

port, being desirous to have recourse to the Amnesty which King *Philip* offered them, he said publicly that matters were not in so desperate a condition; that they ought to take courage, they had indeed lost a real support by the Death of the Father, but that he had left a Son, then studying at *Leyden*, who was capable to fill his place, and gave very great Testimonies of his inclination to Vertue; so by the Perswasion and Authority of this great Man, Prince *Maurice* was no sooner come out of the Colledg, but he was placed, as Commander, at the Head of Armies; upon this account the Prince looked upon him as his Benefactor, till time made him think, he had reason to alter his opinion, and use other measures towards him.

Whilst Monsieur *de Barnevelt* was for the continuance of the War, which the Prince desired to uphold his Authority, they kept a very fair Correspondence; as likewise in the year 1598, when he met King *Henry* IV. in *Brittain* to diswade him from making the Peace of *Vervins*. But when *Barnevelt* shew'd himself inclinable to a Truce, after a War of 40 years, which had so exhausted the State, that it was impossible, by reason of the prodigious number of Debts, to have the War continue any longer; it was then that this Prince, who thought the Truce would give a mortal blow to his Glory and his Interests, could no longer conceal his resentment, but fell

fell openly at variance with Monſieur *de Barnevelt*, even in publick Conferences, ſo far as to give him the Lye, and one time to lift up his hand againſt him. Prince *Maurice* uſed all imaginable endeavours to perſwade King *Henry* IV. to break the deſign of the Truce, as inconſiſtent with the welfare of *France*, ſince the *Spaniards*, being no longer engaged againſt the *United Provinces*, would without all doubt turn their whole Forces againſt his Kingdom: He ſpread ſeveral Papers which accuſed thoſe who were for the Truce, of being Traytors, and holding a Correſpondence with the *Spaniards*, but Monſieur *de Barnevelt*, made it be repreſented to the King by ſuch Ambaſſadors as had their dependance upon himſelf, what he had ſeveral times before told to Mr. *Buzanval* his Ambaſſador, and Monſieur the Preſident *Javin*, who had been diſpatched Extraordinary Envoy into *Holland*; That it was neceſſary for the *United Provinces*, to uſe the King in the ſame method that ſick and wounded perſons do their Phyſicians, or their Chyrurgions; That is, to diſcover plainly their Wounds and Infirmities, whereby his Majeſty may ſee, if it lay in his power to afford them ſuch remedies, as would heal them; That their State was charged with exceſſive Debts, whoſe Intereſt was to be paid to private perſons, that had lent their Money to the Public, and had ſcarce any thing elſe remaining for their own ſubſiſtence; and that except that Intereſt was exactly paid,

paid, the greateſt part of them muſt be left to ſtarve. That the ſeveral Impoſts which were eſtabliſhed to maintain the charges of the War, were not ſufficient for its continuance, and that 13 or 14 Hundred Thouſand Crowns were over and above neceſſary, to pay the Intereſt of their Debts, and the Troops which were then in their Service; but that if his Majeſty would ſupply them with what was neceſſary for their continuance of the War with *Spain*, they would purſue it more vigorouſly now than ever.

The King, whoſe Treaſure was exhauſted, ſeeing that he would be obliged to furniſh them every year with at leaſt 4 Millions of Livres, conſented to the propoſal of the Truce, which was concluded by his Authority, notwithſtanding the perpetual oppoſition which Prince *Maurice* made to it by his Creatures. So the Truce being concluded, in the year 1609, by Monſieur *Barnevelt*'s perſwaſions, it is not to be admired, if the Prince of *Orange* bore no good will to him; ſeeing *France* had followed the ſentiments of that great Man, and had ſo little conſideration for his Intereſts and Councel: After this time, the Prince ſought occaſions to revenge himſelf of *Barnevelt*, but before he came to his final reſolution, he endeavored to gain him over, by the means of the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*, his Mother-in-law; but this did not ſucceed, for Monſieur *Barnevelt* intimated to the Princeſs, as if Prince *Maurice* had a deſign of poſſeſſing himſelf

himſelf of the Soveraignty of the Country, and that it was upon this account he ſo manifeſtly purſued his Ruine.

The Prince finding that *Barnevelt* was not to be brought over, began to encourage ſuch perſons as were jealous of that Power and Authority which *Barnevelt* had gained upon the *States*; but the Prince managed this affair with ſuch diſcretion, that thoſe, whoſe ruine perhaps he might deſign, ſhould have leaſt reaſon to diſtruſt him, or provide for their own Safety; purſuant to this, he beſtowed upon them all imaginable Favors; he gave to Monſieur *de Gronneveld*, Monſieur *Barnevelt*'s eldeſt Son, the Office of Maſter of the *Dykes*, and *Foreſts* in *Holland*; to *Stautembourg* his youngeſt Son, he gave the Government of *Berghen ap Zoom*, which is one of the principal Keys of the Country.

Among others, he brought over *Francis Aerſens*, Son of *Cornelius Aerſens*, Secretary to the *States*, originally of *Brabant*, who had been a long time Reſident, afterwards Ambaſſador in *France*: This Man was Author of all the violent Councels, and principal Executor of the paſſion of the Prince; he was a Man of Ability, and very bold, who aſpired to new things, that ſo he might become great; eloquent to the public damage, and deſirous to heap up Riches by any means whatſoever. The Prince likewiſe made uſe of ſeveral other perſons, who were of an unquiet and ambitious temper, willing to fiſh

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in troubled waters, and to make their advantage of the disgrace such people were fallen into, as they before had reason to envy.

But as it was not safe, so neither did it seem just, to fall upon Monsieur *Barnevelt*, and his Dependants, till they had rendered themselves suspected, and odious to the people; the difference which happened at this time upon the matters of Religion, between the Followers of *Gomarus*, and *Arminius*, gave an occasion for the Peoples disgust against him: for this diversity of opinions had so divided the State, that there were great quarrels in the Schools, and even fights and murders, upon their coming out of the Churches; what one Minister had preached in the Morning, after Dinner was confuted in the same Pulpit, by another Minister of a contrary opinion; so all the Doctors and Ministers having banish'd Charity, which is the chief Foundation of the Christian Religion; instead of instructing People in true Piety, and explaining the Word of God, that breathes nothing but peace, and which is sufficiently intelligible to minds that are meek and well disposed, amus'd themselves only with handling such questions, as the vulgar never could comprehend; and all full of Animosity and Revenge on either Party: employed their whole Wit and Knowledge to make their Adversary appear ridiculous, employing Scurrility more than Arguments against

againſt one another. Theſe different Sermons, in which the Miniſters mutually accuſed one another of Ignorance and Hereſie, ſowed diviſions amongſt the People, each following the opinion of his own Miniſter, as being uncapable to judge for himſelf in queſtions ſo difficult, as thoſe of Free-will, Grace, or Predeſtination; like as it happens at this time, when Ladies of the greateſt Quality, follow ſome the opinion of the Jeſuits, and others that of the Doctors of *Port Royal*; beſides this diviſion encreaſed daily, and not only took deep root throughout the whole State, but an infinite number of printed Books, ſwarmed in every place, and entertained mens minds with Schiſm and Bitterneſs. The *Gomariſts*, wedded to the opinion of *Calvin*, maintained that God had ſentenced by an eternal Decree, what men were to be ſaved, and what were to be damned; that this Sentence drew the one into the path of Piety and Salvation, whilſt it left the other buried in all that Vice which is common to humane Nature.

The *Arminians* ſaid, on the contrary, That God who was a moſt righteous Judge, and a moſt merciful Father, made this diſtinction between Sinners, that thoſe who repented of their faults ſhould obtain Grace and Life, whereas ſuch as were diſobedient and obſtiſtinate in their crimes, ſhould be puniſhed for them; That God deſired all would come into the right way, and had given them good precepts

precepts for to follow, but that there was no neceſſity that might force either the one, or the other, it depending upon each Mans will, either to damn himſelf, or to be ſaved.

In the heat of the diſputes, and in ſeveral writings, the *Arminians* accuſed the *Gomariſts* of making God the cauſe of mens ſins, and maintained that by a ſort of deſtiny, they made Souls immovable, being ſubmitted to the irrevocable fatality of Eternal Life or Damnation.

The *Gomariſts* on the other ſide, blamed the *Arminians* for blowing up mens minds with ſo great an arrogance, as to think they could poſſeſs the greateſt of Treaſures, which is a Soul well conſtituted, without being beholding to God alone for it, but to the Merits of their own Good Works. Theſe Opinions were defended with ſo much heat and poſitiveneſs, that I have heard *Daniel Tilenus* (a Famous *Arminian*, Native of *Gaulsberg* in *Sileſia*, who had been driven from *Sedan*, by the Miniſters of a contrary Opinion, and who died at *Paris* in an extream old Age) often ſay, he had much rather embrace the Opinion of *Mahomet* than that of *Calvin*; alledging that the *Turks* believed in God, whereas the *Calviniſts* did not, foraſmuch as the principal Attribute of God was to be infinitely Good and Merciful; that the *Turks* acknowledged a God of ſuch a Nature, but that the *Calviniſts* framed one that was Cruel, Pittileſs, and that damned his own Creatures

tures with a ſet deliberation. Upon the mention of *Tilenus* I ſhall add, that he diſputed againſt Cardinal *Perron*, and that the Conference which they had together was Printed; and that tho he was a *German*, and upon the Frontiers of *Poland*, yet there was no Perſon in *France*, who writ in our Language with more Elegancy and Neatneſs, which I am certified of from my Father, who received a thouſand Letters from him, and who was a competent Judge in this matter, as being himſelf eſteemed to have had one of the beſt Pens of the Age; He lived in the ſame Country of *Sileſia*, which has likewiſe produced Monſieur *de Borſtell*, who had the ſame Talent at writing, and was ſo much eſteemed by Madam *des Loges*, and immortalized in the Letters of Monſieur *Balzac*.

The *States General* being often aſſembled to remedy theſe diſorders which daily happened in all their Cities, by reaſon of theſe diviſions upon the account of Religion, it was the adviſe of Monſieur *Barnevelt*, that all Miniſters, and Profeſſors of Divinity, ſhould be prohibited to ſpeak concerning Grace, and Predeſtination, either in the Pulpit or the Univerſities; that all Printers likewiſe ſhould be forbid to publiſh any books upon this Subject; that both Parties ſhould live together in Brotherly Union, without ſcandalouſly dividing the Church; that this Doctrine was ſo ſubtle, and ſo incomprehenſible to the Common People, that the whole

Country would be at reſt and eaſie, as ſoon as nothing more ſhould be ſpoke concerning it: that there remained a field large enough for the Miniſters to comfort and inſtruct their Flocks, by exhorting them to the practice of Gods Commandments and Chriſtian Vertues, by explaining to them the Old and New Teſtament, which leads Mens Minds to nothing more than Peace and Charity: In ſhort, he added that the book of Predeſtination was a book ſo difficult and obſcure, that the greateſt Doctors could not ſee a Letter in it, and that the very Angels had much ado to comprehend it.

This Council was ſo wiſe and prudent that at the ſame time it was followed by the *French* King, who ſeeing his Kingdom diſturbed with the ſame Queſtions, and threatned with a dangerous Schiſm, by the diſputes and frequent writings of the *Jeſuits*, and ſuch as were called *Janſeniſts*; impoſed a perpetual ſilence to all theſe Writers.

But Prince *Maurice* and his dependants oppoſed themſelves to the ſentiments of Monſieur *Barnevelt* and his Party, as eſteeming them to lye under a ſuſpition of holding correſpondence with the *Roman Catholicks* and the *Spaniards*, and that by this means they would bring back Popery into the *United Provinces*, which was the only thing that could ruine that Republick, and *Francis Aerſens* being a bold Man that could write and ſpeak fluently;

fluently, he was ordered to make uſe of his Pen upon this Occaſion.

There were ſeveral papers publiſhed at this time, among which, one was called *Prævia Detectio*, another *Diſſertatio Neceſſaria*, a third *Hiſpanici Concilii Artes*: and whereas Monſieur *Barnevelts* Party had commended his wiſdom and the pains he had taken for the good of his Country, and the Counſels he had given ſo much for its advantage; ſo Monſieur *Aerſens* by theſe writings accuſed him openly of being in League with the Papiſts, and corrupted by the *Spaniards* to ruine the true Religion, and bring his Country back again into Slavery.

Monſieur *Barnevelt* anſwered *Aerſens*, with a very large Apology, wherein all his long ſervices for the good of the State were repreſented to the full; but this gained no ground upon thoſe who were affected to Prince *Maurice*, who had the Power in his hands, and the Soldiers all depending upon him, and then the common People could not but follow him, as having no reaſon to think he could have any deſign to their prejudice, who had ſo long expoſed himſelf to a great many dangers in the defence of their Liberties.

Monſieur *de Barnevelt* ſeeing himſelf thus attacqued, complained to the *States* of *Holland*, as his Judges and Natural Lords, who took him into their protection by an authentic Act; but he having counſelled thoſe of *Utrecht* to preſerve their new Garriſon which

they had levied for their particular safety, upon their own charges, affirming they might do it by the priviledge of their Province; the States of each Country having reserved their Rights by the Union of *Utrecht*: The Prince of *Orange* and his Party imputed this action to him as a crime, and made it pass for an attempt against the good of the confederated Commonwealth. The Prince soon after went to *Utrecht*, assisted by some Deputies of the States General, disarmed the new Levies, and changed the Magistrates, as at *Leyden*, *Haerlem*, *Amsterdam*, and other places; afterwards he displaced several of the *States* of *Holland*, and substituted others in their room; a little while after by an extraordinary Order of Eight Persons under the Title of *States General*, Prince *Maurice* caused Monsieur *Barnevelt* to be arrested, he was put into the Castle of the *Hague*, in the same Chamber where Admiral *Mendoza* of *Arragon* had heretofore been Prisoner; at the same time Monsieur *Hoguerbeis*, a Person of merit and known capacity was arrested likewise, with Monsieur *Hugo Grotius*, Pentionary of *Rotterdam*, a Man of great Learning, and the Sieur *de Leydenberg* Secretary to the States of *Utrecht*.

They were accused of several crimes against the State, amongst others, that they would have laid the whole Country in blood, and betray'd it to the *Spaniards*.

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The *Prince* to ſecure himſelf from any hatred that might be drawn upon him in this conjuncture, declared that whatever he acted, was in the Name of the *States General*, as principal Conſervators of the ſafety of the Republic.

The Priſoners on the other ſide remonſtrated, That though this was done under the Name of the *States General*, yet that in effect it proceeded only from the power of the *Prince*, who was armed, and followed by the greateſt part of the common People; that the change at preſent made in the Commonwealth was ſo conſiderable, that it ought to aſtoniſh all thoſe who were true Lovers of the Laws and Liberties of their Country.

That as for the *States General*, they had no Juriſdiction over the Subjects of particular Provinces, much leſs to arreſt Perſons of their Quality, who were deprived of their Employments without any proceſs, againſt all Juſtice, and in oppoſition to the *States* of *Holland*, who were their only Lords and Superiors; that their true crimes were their oppoſition to the ambitious deſires of Prince *Maurice*, their obedience to the *States* of *Holland*, who were their Maſters, their Counſel to ſome Towns to preſerve their Priviledges, and to arm themſelves for their own ſafeties; and finally their refuſal to give conſent to the calling of a General Synod, which they thought would cauſe more miſchief than advantage to their Country: that they

were oppreſt by their Enemies under the Title of *States General*, who are the Deputies of Provinces, only for the affairs of Peace and War, for the receiving propoſals from foreign Ambaſſadors, and reporting them to the particular *States* of each Province; the *States General* having no other lawful Right of intermedling with the affairs of the Provinces, each of which are ſoveraign States, and have time out of mind been Maſters of the Life and Fortune of their Subjects; that this was only a ſpecious Pretext, by which the Neighboring Princes, who did not know the true conſtitution of the Provinces, might be hindered from defending them, and to put ſome ſort of colour upon ſo great an Injuſtice; they alledged farther for themſelves the ancient Cuſtoms ſworn to by the Earls of *Holland*, the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and *Charles* the 5th, which for ſeveral ages had been inviolably obſerved, and for whoſe preſervation their Anceſtors had taken Arms; That as for a General or National *Synod*, they could not agree to it, becauſe it would ſeem, as if the *Seven Provinces* were but one Nation, contrary to the priviledge of particular Provinces, which had always provided for matters of Religion in their own bounds, which was ſo true, that when the *States* of the 17 *Provinces*, aſſembled at *Bruſſels*, having inſtantly demanded of Prince *William* of *Orange*, that the *Roman* Catholic Religion might be exerciſed in his Governments, returned

turned anſwer, That this depended only upon the *States* of *Holland* and *Zealand*. That they appealed from theſe Judges as incompetent, and viſibly ſuſpected of being their Enemies, to ſuch Judges as were natural and proper to their cauſe.

At the ſame time Prince *Maurice* with the *States General*, called a National Synod in the Town of *Dort*, and ſeveral Divines of Foreign Countries were invited thither; in this Aſſembly the Opinion of *Arminius* was declared to be Heretical, ſcandalous, and tending to the Re eſtabliſhment of Popery in the *United Provinces*, and in purſuance of this decree, *Utembaugarts*, and all the other Miniſters and Doctors ſuſpected to be of that Opinion, were diſmiſſed from their Cures, and baniſhed the Country, and forbid to return under pain of ſevere puniſhment.

After this, Monſieur *Barnevelt* and the other Priſoners, were tried before Judges nominated by the *States General*; theſe Judges Condemned Monſieur *Barnevelt* to death, upon the 12th of *May* 1619. My Father had ſeveral times interceeded for him in the Name of the *French* King, and Monſieur *de Boiſſiſe* had been twice ſent Envoy Extraordinary into *Holland*, to exhort the *States* to conſult their proper welfare, and treat their Priſoners with moderation.

Purſuant to the Sentence, he was executed in the Court of the Caſtle at the *Hague*, being 66 years old, where the Scaffold was

raiſed againſt his Chamber Window, oppoſite to the Prince's Apartment, who was ſaid to have beheld this Execution from his window by the help of a proſpective; upon which ſome people made their Reflections.

Prince *Maurice* and the *States* had leſs regard to the Interceſſion of *France*, becauſe the King of *England* was in their Intereſt, as being perſwaded that Monſieur *Barnevelt* was none of his Friends, and that he had done him a ſenſible diſpleaſure, by cauſing the *Engliſh* Garriſons to retire from the Town of *Fluſhing*, the *Brill*, and the Caſtle of *Ramekins*; which the *Engliſh* held for a ſecurity of thoſe Sums which Queen *Elizabeth* had lent to the *States General*. Monſieur *Barnevelt* (being the chief of a very ſplendid Embaſſy) made great Inſtances to the King to recall his Forces from their Towns; King *James* promiſed him publickly and ſolemnly that he would do it, provided they paid the Money due to him, thinking he had impoſed an impoſſible condition upon them, conſidering how the Provinces had been exhauſted by their Taxes; but Monſieur *Barnevelt* having got the Kings word, applyed himſelf with ſo much diligence to the collecting of the Money, and by his Credit the people bled ſo freely, that in a little time theſe vaſt Sums were carried into *England*, which King *James*, tho' very much ſurprized at, was obliged to receive, and conſequently to recall his Garriſons;

ſons; and the remembrance of it ſtuck ſo cloſe, that he had always a great averſion for Monſieur *Barnevelt*.

Prince *Maurice* had another reaſon to make him have leſs regard to the interceſſion of *France*, which was becauſe he was not in the leaſt afraid of their reſentments; *Lewis* the 13th was then come out of his Minority, and a new Favorite was abſolute Maſter of Affairs, who had more regard to the raiſing of himſelf and two Brothers, than to meddle with the Affairs of other Countries, which appeared in the buſineſs of the Elector *Palatine*, King of *Bohemia*; for though by reaſons of State he ſhould have been maintained, to weaken the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which at that time was become formidable, and becauſe this *Elector* was one of our principal Allies, who might always have ſo divided *Germany*, as that one of the Parties ſhould have aſſiſted us when we had occaſion; yet Monſieur *de Luynes* promiſed the Marqueſs *de Mirabel*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, then at *Paris*, to ruin the Affairs of the *Palatinate*, upon condition that Monſieur *de Cadenet* his Brother, ſhould marry Mademoiſelle *de Pecquigny* and *Chaulnes*; one of the moſt noble, moſt beautiful, and richeſt Heireſſes of her time, who was educated at *Bruxels*, in the Family of the Infanta *Iſabella*.

Upon theſe hopes, which were not ill grounded (for the *Spaniards* had given him their word) Monſieur *de Luynes* ſent a ſplendid

did Embaſſy into *Germany*, conſiſting of Monſieurs *d' Angouleme*, *de Bethune*, and *de Chateau-neuf*; who deceived the Proteſtant Princes, that were armed for the defence of the *Palatinate*; for it was concluded by the Treaty of *Ulme*, where all the Princes of both Parties were aſſembled, to hearken to the propoſitions of *France*; That both Catholics and Proteſtants ſhould lay down their Arms, and the Quarrel be decided by the King of *Bohemia*, and the Emperor only. The Proteſtant Princes ſuffered themſelves to be abuſed, and did perform the Treaty honeſtly, ſo that the Marqueſs of *Anſbatch*, the General of their Forces, had orders to disband them; but the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the other Catholic Princes of the ſame Parties, ſent their Troops by the *Danube* to the Emperor, who overthrew the Prince *Palatine* at the battel of *Prague*. After this, Monſieur *de Luynes*, having thus ſufficiently raiſed his Family, began to conſider what might be for the Intereſt of the Kingdom, and thereupon councelled the King to weaken the *Hugonots*, who as he told his Majeſty, had the Inſolence to make a diſtinct State within themſelves, and had hitherto been held invincible; hereupon Monſieur *de Luynes* ſeized upon all their important places, except *Montauban*, from *Saumur* to the *Pyreneans*, and after his death, in the year 1622, purſuant to his Maxims *Montpelier* was taken, and at laſt (ſome time after) Cardinal *Richelieu* counſelled the King to attack

attack *Rochel*, which he gained, and razed immediately; and having in that deſtroyed the principal ſtrength of the *Hugonot* Party, their entire ruin ſoon followed, upon the Duke of *Rohans* retreat to *Venice*, who had a long time upheld them by his Valor and Induſtry.

Prince *Maurice* was ſufficiently informed of this condition of *France*, by the Dukes of *Bovillon*, and *dela Trimoille*, who had married his Siſters; beſides theſe, he had a great many Friends in *Germany*, where ſeveral of the Soveraign Princes were related to him, either by his own ſide, or his Mothers, who was Daughter to *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*. The Elector *Palatine* was his Nephew likewiſe, and he afterwards was choſe King of *Bohemia*, which he accepted, as 'tis ſaid, upon the advice of Prince *Maurice*, and the perſuaſions of the Princeſs his Lady, though contrary to the Counſels of King *James*, his Father-in-law, who thought a young Prince was not capable to manage an Affair of ſuch Importance, and reſiſt the power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; proteſting that he would neither ſuccor him with men nor money, except he quitted this deſign, which would infallibly become his ruin: but the Duke of *Bovillon* perſwaded the Elector *Palatine* to the contrary, as having ſome power over the young Prince, who was his Nephew, and had been bred up with him at *Sedan*; and the Duke diſcovered ſome Ambition to have his Nephew

phew a King, when he wrote to ſome Friends at *Paris*, that whilſt *Lewis* was making Knights at *Fountainbleau*, he was *making Kings* in *Germany*. But this Royalty did not continue above 6 months, ſo that his Enemies called him a *King of Snow*, becauſe the ſingle battle of *Prague*, in the beginning of the year 1621, loſt him all *Bohemia*, *Sileſia*, *Luſatia*, *Moravia*, with the adjoyning Provinces; and the year following, the *Spaniſh* Forces marching from the *Low Countries*, deprived him of the *Palatinate* itſelf, in which he was not re-eſtabliſhed, but by *Guſtavus Adolphus*'s Deſcent into *Germany*; *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, who died many years after, one of the oldeſt Captains of the age, ſignalized himſelf very much at the Battle of *Pragne*, where Count *Harcourt* was likewiſe, tho very young.

But to return to Prince *Maurice*; *France* being ſo apparently inclined to the Intereſts of *Barnevelt*'s Party, its Miniſters, which were then in *Holland*, uſed to ſay, that Prince *Maurice* would have pretended to the Soveraignty of the *United Provinces*, but that ſuch People, who in the beginning had been hotteſt againſt *Mr. Barnevelt*, and moſt devoted to the *Prince*; yet when they fathom'd his deſigns became averſe to them, notwithſtanding their former obligations; beſides the Exile, Death and Impriſonment of perſons who had been ſo conſiderable in the State, and had likewiſe a great many Friends and Dependants, wrought a mighty change in the

the Peoples affections to the *Prince*, which appeared very visibly; for whereas before when he went through the Towns of *Holland*, every body came out of their houses praying for him with extraordinary Acclamations; now, as he was one day going through the Market-place at *Gorcum*, which was full of people, there was scarce a single man that pull'd his Hat off to him: For the common people were so variable, that the very Writings which heretofore had made *Mr. Barnevelt* become suspected by them, were now produced as so many motives for their pity and compassion towards him. To this they added, that the assistance which probably he might have hop'd for, from the Elector *Palatine*, was since the loss of the battle of *Prague*, no lorger to be expected; and the Emperor *Ferdinand* the 2d, having by the happy success of his Generals, Count *Tilly*, and *Walleſtein*, made himself absolute Master of all *Germany*, even to the *Baltick* Sea, where he established an Admiralty at *Wismar*, reduced all the *Princes*, and *Imperial* Towns under his Obedience; Prince *Maurice* could no longer expect Succors from *Germany*, whatever Friends he might heretofore have had there.

But those who adhered to the Interests of Prince *Maurice*, and the House of *Orange*, acquitted him of a Design so prejudicial to the good of the *United Provinces*, by maintaining that it was a perfect Artifice of his Enemies,

Enemies, to make him become odious to the People of the *Low Countries*; for ſaid they, what probability was there, that Prince *Maurice* ever had it in his thoughts to become Soveraign of his Country, ſince after the extirpation of *Barnevelt* and his party, he never made one ſtep towards it, which he might have done, having then no farther obſtacles.

Prince *Maurice* did not long ſurvive a great Conſpiracy, which the Sieur *de Stautemburg*, youngeſt Son of M^r. *Barnevelt*, had laid againſt his Life, which being happily diſcovered ſome hours before its execution, obliged him to puniſh a great number of the Conſpirators, throughout the pincipal Towns of *Holland*.

The *Prince* was never married, but had ſeveral Natural Children, the moſt conſiderable of them all was Mouſieur *de Beverwert*, a man very well made, and very brave, he was Governor of *Bolduc*, after whoſe death the Prince of *Tarentum* had that Government, and was ſucceeded by Collonel *Fitz-Patrick*, a *Scotchman*.

Prince *Maurice* died in the Spring of the Year 1625, when the Marqueſs *Spinola* beſieged the Town of *Breda*. And as ſome pretended it was for grief that he did not ſucceed in the Soveraignty; ſo others ſaid that it was, becauſe he could not relieve that place, which was his own propriety, and had been ſurprized by him 34 years before.

Henry

FREDERICK HENRY.
Prince of Orsnge.

Henry Frederick *of* Naſſau *Prince of* Orange, *and his Poſterity.*

THis Prince was born the 28th of *February* 1584. He was of a good meiſt, and of a ſtrong make, and his parts were as eminent, as his perſon was agreeable. He was a very great Captain, and equall'd the Glory of his Brother *Maurice*, who taught him the Art of War, and lead him into the moſt dangerous Adventures; and amongſt others, at the battle of *Newport*, where though he was very young, he contributed much by his Valor to the gaining that great Victory in a conjuncture, where the Army of the *States General* had before them a powerful body of men commanded by *Albert* the Arch-duke in perſon, and the Sea behind them, ſo that it was abſolutely neceſſary, either to make themſelves Conquerors or to periſh.

When Prince *Maurice* died, in the year 1625, he adviſed his Brother *Henery Frederick* his chief Heir, to marry Madam *de Solmes* (who was come into *Holland* with the Queen of *Bohemia*) whoſe Beauty and good Carriage were accompanied with a great deal of

of Modesty and Prudence; she died a little while ago, being very antient, and her Name was *Amelia*, Daughter to *John Albert* Count *de Solmes*.

This Prince had one Son, and four Daughters, the eldest of these Ladies married *Frederick William* the Elector of *Brandenburg*, by whom she had several Children. This Prince has the greatest Territories in all *Germany*, they reaching from the *Low Countries* to *Poland* and *Curland*.

The 2d Daughter *Henrietta Emilia*, married the Count *de Nassau*. The 3d *Henrietta Catherina*, married *John George* Prince of *Anhalt*; and the 4th married the Duke of *Simeren*, the youngest Son of the House *Palatine*, who died a little while ago.

The Son was called *William*, was born in 1626, and died the 6th of *November* 1650, after the business of *Amsterdam*. He was a Prince naturally ambitious, and of great Courage, so that his Enemies reported of him, that though he was so young, yet he aimed at the execution of that design, which had been laid to Prince *Maurice*'s charge, by *Barnevelt* and his Adherents. His sudden death changed the whole face of affairs in the *Low Countries*. He had great prospects from his alliance of *England*, having married *Princess Mary*, Daughter of *Charles* the first King of *Great Britain*, by whom he left Prince *William Henry* of *Nassau* (now King of *England*, *&c.*) who was born the 14th of *November*

November 1650, ſome days after the death of his Father.

This young Prince *William* was very remarkable in his Infancy, for his reſervedneſs and moderation; his Prudence increaſed as he grew up, and ſuch people as were nice obſervers of merit, and took great notice of him, have affirmed, that never Prince gave greater hopes than he, even in the moſt tender years. He ſuffered with an admirable temper the injuries of *Barnevelt*'s Party, which revived itſelf in the perſons of the two *Dewits*, who were Brothers; expecting with a ſilent patience, which was greater much than that of his Anceſtor, the great Prince *William*, what time would produce, and what favorable occaſions might occur, at laſt for his Re-eſtabliſhment; for having by a ſolemn ſentence been deprived of all the Employments of his Family, after the ſudden death of the Prince his Father; he was reſtored to them again, at the beginning of the laſt war, by an Ordinance that was made on purpoſe for it.

His Riſe and Re-eſtabliſhment were owing to *France*, which having made great Conqueſts for almoſt 8 years together; the greateſt part of the Frontier Towns, and ſeveral capital places of the Provinces *Utrecht* and *Zutphen* among others, were rendered up at the very ſight of their Armies, though theſe places were provided with large Garriſons; yet being compoſed of Officers and

Men without any experience, the King of *France* became Maſter of more than 40 places, in leſs than two months. Theſe miſfortunes, which ſeemed to be the preſages of greater, and had put the *United Provinces* into the utmoſt conſternation, gave occaſion to the People to complain of the ill conduct of the two *De Wits*, who governed till that time; and furniſhed thoſe who adhered to the Houſe of *Naſſau* with a reaſonable pretext to affirm, that the Princes of *Orange* were only able to uphold their tottering State, and defend them againſt their moſt potent Enemies; and that, as heretofore, they had protected them againſt the Tyranny of *Spain*, ſo it was they alone who could preſerve them from the Fury and Violence of the *French* Armies.

The Grand-mother of this young Prince, who was a Woman of a Maſculine courage, and ſuffered the indignities that had been offered to the Houſe of *Orange* with great impatience, having beheld it, in its greateſt ſplendour, was not a little ſerviceable in ſtirring up all the creatures and dependants on the Houſe of *Naſſau*, who were very numerous; theſe people being angry to ſee themſelves fallen from their credit, the principal employments being given to the Sons of Burgomaſters; and ſeconded by the fury of the people, that were grown out of all patience at ſo many diſaſters, and the ſight of a victorious Army, through the very bowels

els of the Countrey, maſſacred the Enemies of the *Young Prince*, who was afterwards reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all the dignities that had belonged to his Anceſtors, which is to ſay, that of General of their Forces, *Stadt-holder* and *Admiral*, which were moreover by a ſolemn decree made hereditary to his Family.

Upon this occaſion it cannot but be admired, how ſo powerful a State, that had made head for Fourſcore years againſt the Crown of *Spain*, had taken ſuch large Towns, and gained ſo many Battels, and had become formidable at Sea to all the Princes of the world, having carried its Arms and Victory to the fartheſt part of the Earth; that this State, I ſay, which had rendred itſelf ſo famous by the long defence of *Oſtend*, which has equall'd the reputation of the famous Sieges of *Tire*, and the ancient *Troy*, ſhould be reduced in leſs than two months to the very brink of its ruine; and it had aſſuredly been deſtroyed in the year 1672, if by a deſperate reſolution it had not reſolved to ſave itſelf by drowning part of the Country; as a Pilot who throws all his Cargo overboard, during a furious Storm, that ſo he may preſerve his Men and Veſſel.

But thoſe who knew the conſtitution of theſe Provinces, and were not ignorant that diſcord is the plague and certain deſtruction of the moſt flouriſhing States, were not ſo much amazed, conſidering it was more than

Threeſcore years ſince that Country had been torn in pieces by two contrary Factions, which threatned its ſubverſion without any Foreign Forces: This Gangreen likewiſe had ſo ſeized upon the moſt noble parts of the *United Provinces*, that in the year 1672, by a ſtrange fatality and an unaccountable paſſion, the greateſt part of the chief Perſons in that Country, deſired the loſs of their Land Army, and the defeat of the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe Riſe and Power they ſo much envied: For this reaſon they had not ſufficiently provided his Army with neceſſary proviſions, whilſt they applied their principal cares to increaſe the Fleet, to reſiſt the Kings of *England* and *France*, who attacked them jointly with a Navy of above Fourſcore Men of War.

But it is not leſs ſurprizing to conſider the expedition the *French* made in this Campaign, when as theſe people for fear of becoming ſubject to the Houſe of *Orange*, allied to theſe great Monarchs, had committed a conſiderable fault in their Politicks: for after the Peace of *Munſter*, imagining themſelves to be in perfect ſecurity, and that they had nothing more to be afraid of, and being acknowledged *Soveraigns* by *Spain*, they might rather give Laws than receive them from any body. They disbanded the greateſt part of their old Forces, that were Strangers, and thoſe experienced Officers who had gained ſo great Glory to their Country, imagining that

that the ſureſt means of freeing themſelves from the Slavery which they thought themſelves threatened with, was to take from the Prince of *Orange* the ſupport of his Government, by reforming thoſe Troops which looked upon him as their Maſter, having taken an Oath to him, and were devoted perfectly to his ſervice.

Beſides the principal men in the Country had, as they thought, ſome intereſt in this change, for they gave all the Commands in the Army, and the Government of places to their own Relations, thinking by the aſſiſtance of this Souldiery to fortifie themſelves, and at the ſame time to weaken the Houſe of *Orange*; but they found by ſad experience, that endeavoring to avoid one inconvenience, they fell quickly into a greater. For having given the great Employments in the Army, and Government of places to Sons of Burgomaſters, and Deputies of Towns; People without any experience, and who wanted Tutors for themſelves, rather than to be Commanders; when a ſtrong and powerful Enemy made War againſt them, theſe young men ſhow'd none of their Northern courage in this ſtorm and danger, for there were places that were garriſoned with 5000 Foot and 800 Horſe, that rendred themſelves all Priſoners of War, at the very ſight of the *French* Army, without making any reſiſtance.

My Brother *de la Villaumaine*, who came into *France* a little before this laſt War, giving me an account of the ſtate of the Army in *Holland*, told me that if a powerful Enemy ſhould attack them, the Officers muſt reſolve to periſh and bear the brunt in their own perſons; having no confidence in the Souldiers they commanded, who did not know how to manage their Arms; a Prophecy which was ſince accompliſhed at the expence of his Life; A little before he told me likewiſe, that the *Dutch* Horſe were ſo ill equipped, that 50 *Reyters* of *Munſter* would put to flight two or three Hundred *Dutch* Troopers, who would fly before theſe *Germans* as Sheep before a Wolf.

There happened the like inconvenience to the *Swedes*, for having committed the ſame fault as the *Hollanders*, becauſe after the Peace of *Munſter*, they likewiſe disbanded the old Troops which had done ſuch great actions, and revived the antient Glory of the *Goths*, who had conquered a great part of *Europe*, being ſo bold as to attack the Elector of *Brandenburg* and his old Souldiers, with their new Levies, that never durſt maintain their ground againſt him, and were always beaten when he could joyn them; ſo that if by an extraordinary good fortune they had not had ſo faithful, and ſo mighty a Protector as the *French* King, they had quite loſt *Pomerania*, and been ſent back to their own cold Countries beyond the *Baltick* Sea: All

All which ſhows us that a Prince ought always to keep a large body of old Troops to defend his State, which without ſuch a ſupport runs the hazard of becoming a prey to the firſt Enemy that ſhall be bold, and ſtrong enough to attack it.

To theſe two cauſes of the extremities to which *Holland* was reduced in 1672, that is to ſay, to the inteſtine diviſions, and to the disbanding of the old foreign Souldiers; there may a third be likewiſe added, which was the extraordinary and unheard of drowth that happen'd that year; for it was ſo great, that the *Rhine*, one of the greateſt Rivers in *Europe*, that carries Men of War, was ſo low, that the *French* Troops were able to ford it; ſo the Country being frightned to ſee itſelf attacked both by Sea and Land, by the powers of *France* and *England* united to its ruine, was reduced to the utmoſt deſpair, ſeeing Heaven conſpire to their deſtruction, by taking away thoſe Ramparts which Nature had deſigned for its preſervation.

The *French* Army for the reaſons before mentioned, had penetrated into the very Heart of the Country, and 40 places were taken in a ſmall ſpace of time, whereas the *State* thought they might have found work for 20 years, theſe people that were a little too haughty in their proſperity, lay then under a terrible conſternation; almoſt in the ſame condition as the *Venetians* were heretofore, when King *Lewis* the 12th made himſelf

Maſter of the greateſt part of the Territories which they had upon the Continent. Being in this deſpair, they were conſtrained to the laſt Remedy, which was to overflow their Country, and breaking down their Dykes to oppoſe a Sea to the *French* forces, ſo hindring them from paſſing further, they averted the ruine of the *Commonwealth*, which elſe had aſſuredly run its period.

Heretofore ſeeing themſelves reduced to a like extremity, they made uſe of the ſame Remedy againſt the *Spaniſh* Army at the Siege of *Leyden*, having ſuccoured the place then at the very point of being loſt, with an innumerable company of Boats, which ſwum upon the Land, which they had overflow'd; and then the *United Provinces* were reduced to ſo ſtrange circumſtances, and to ſuch a height of deſpair, that the principal perſons amongſt them propoſed, in imitation of the ancient *Switzers*, to burn all their Towns, Villages and Caſtles, and to ſpoyl the Country as much as they could, and go on board their Ships to ſettle themſelves in the *Indies*, ſo to be delivered from the *Spaniſh* Tyranny; but they had not Veſſels enough to tranſport a fourth part of the people, and were unwilling to leave the greater number to the mercy of ſo pityleſs an Enemy: and for a Motto of the lamentable condition which this Country was then reduced to, they engraved upon the Money which they coyned at that time, a Veſſel with-

without Masts and Sayls, toſt by the waves and ſtorm, with theſe words, *Incertum quò fata ferant*: words which repreſented the extremity of their condition.

But to return to the Prince of *Orange*; He appeared at the head of an Army at 22 years old; as his Great Grandfather Prince *William*, who was Generaliſſimo to the Emperour *Charles* the V. at the ſame Age; and throughout the courſe of this great War, he ſhow'd ſo much Courage and Conduct, both in Sieges and Battels, that he had aſſuredly paſs'd the Actions of his Illuſtrious Anceſtors, who for 200 years ſerv'd for a model to the greateſt Generals, if he had not had the misfortune to be born in the age of a King, whoſe Genius and Power no common forces could ſtand againſt. I do not deſign to make an exact Journal of the Actions of his Illuſtrious Father Prince *Henry Frederick*, ſince they may be learnt from other Hiſtories, but ſpeak of them in general, and relate ſome certain paſſages not commonly known.

In the year 1626 he took *Oldenſell*, Capital of the Country of *Tuitz*, in the Neighbourhood of *Friezeland* and *Groninghen*; and the ſame year *Peter Hein*, one of his Vice-Admirals, in the Bay of *Todos los Santos*, in the Road of *St. Salvador*, took a *Spaniſh* Fleet laden with Sugar.

In the year 1627 he took *Grolle*, before the face of Count *Henry de Bergues*, General of a powerful *Spaniſh* Army, that could put

no

no ſuccours into it, nor make the Prince raiſe his Siege, he being ſo well entrenched againſt the Enemies Army. At the end of the year 1627 the ſame *Peter Hein* mentioned before, took the *Spaniſh* Silver Fleet near the Iſle of *Cuba*. This prize, without reckoning the Galeons and Veſſels, was eſteemed at more than twenty Millions; there were, beſides other Riches, 356000 Marks of Silver, and 300000 Marks of Gold, abundance of Pearls, Cochinele, Jewels, Bezoar, Musk, Ambergreeſe, 250 Cheſts of Sugar, and an infinite number of Stuffs, and other merchandizes of great value. This Vice-admiral *Peter Hein* arrived glorioufly in *Holland* in the beginning of the year 1629, which was remarkable by the Conqueſt of the ſtrong Town of *Bolduc*, where by a Siege that was very long and difficult, Prince *Henry Frederick* ſhow'd by his conduct and valour that he could overcome that which had reſiſted his Brother *Maurice*, who had heretofore attacqued that important place without ſucceſs. But what was more marvellous was, that whilſt Prince *Henry Frederick* lay before the place, Count *Henry de Bergues* having paſs'd the River *Iſell* with a great Army, ravaged all the Country of *Utrecht*, where he ſeized upon *Amerifort*, and put *Holland* into ſuch a conſternation that ſeveral people counſelled the *Prince* to quit his enterprize upon *Bolduc*, and ſuccor the heart of his Country which was made deſolate by the

Enemy;

Enemy; but he had the constancy to persevere, till he had made himself Master of so considerable a Town, without being moved by the Councels of his chief Officers, or the Lamentations of the People that had been plundered.

At the same time the Prince by the vigilance and resolution of *Otho de Guent* Lord of *Dieden*, Governour of *Emeric*, having happily surprized the Town of *Wesel*, where was the Magazine and Artillery of the *Spanish* Army (which obliged Count *Henry de Bergues* to repass the *Issel* in all the haste imaginable) he gained by this double conquest the reputation not only of a very brave, but likewise of a very fortunate Captain; a quality so desirable to a General, that *Scilla* the Dictator preferred the surname of *Happy* to that of *Great*.

In the year 1630 he seized upon the Town of *Olind* in *Brazil*, by the conduct of his Vice-Admirals; and the same year Count *John de Nassau*, his Cousin, who for some discontent had gone out of the *Dutch* service to that of *Spain*, was defeated near the *Rhine*, and taken by Collonel *Illestein*, who was not half so strong; he was carried Prisoner to *Wesel*, from whence he was ransomed for 18000 Rix Dollers.

The year following the same Count *John de Nassau*, who had gathered together a very strong Fleet in hopes to surprize *Willemstat*, he was totally defeated by the *Hollanders*,

Hollanders, above 4000 of his men taken Priſoners, and the reſt either ſlain or wounded, and the Count had much ado to ſave himſelf with the Prince of *Brabanzoon*.

In the ſame year 1631, the States General, to gratify the Prince of *Orange*, and to teſtify their acknowledgment for the ſervices which he had continually done his Country, gave the reverſion of all his Offices to his Son *Prince William*, and the writings for it were preſented to the young Prince in a Box of Gold.

In the year 1632, Prince *Henry* after having taken *Ruremond*, *Venlo* and *Strale*, he ſet about the conqueſt of *Maeſtricht*, a place ſomewhat diſtant from *Holland*, ſcituated upon the River *Meuſe*, in the confines of *Brabant*, where he provided his Ammunition and Victuals for the Siege with ſo much Prudence, that he had enough to make himſelf Maſter of the place; he had ſurrounded it with a great circumvallation, which the *Spaniſh* Army could not force, no more than another *German* Army, under *Henry Godfry*, Count of *Papenheim*, a famous Captain; both which were conſtrained to retire with diſgrace, after ſeveral efforts that were unſucceſsful, and many conſiderable loſſes.

In the year 1633 the Prince beſieged and took *Rhineberg*, and the year following the *Spaniards* having beſieged the Fort of *Phillipin*, which incommoded the Town of *Ghent*, the Prince of *Orange* made them raiſe the Siege;

Siege. A little before Count *Henry de Bergue*, complaining that he was ill uſed by the *Spaniards*, had quitted their ſervice and rerired into *Holland*, upon which he publiſhed a Manifeſto; and two years after, in the year 1634, he was condemned as contumacious, to have his Head cut off, by the ſentence of the Court of *Mechlin*. In this place I muſt tell you how in the year 1628, after the taking of *Rochel*, the Cardinal *Richelieu*, who was abſolute Governour in *France*, was mighty deſirous to gain the reputation of having deſtroyed all the retreats of Hereſie, having an unmeaſurable deſire of making himſelf be canoniz'd; and to arrive at it the more eaſily he made his Confeſſors ſay, that he had never committed ſo much as a Venial Sin, as I have often heard from Mr. *Leſcot de S. Quintin*, his Confeſſor, whom he made Biſhop of *Chartes:* as crafty a man as ever came out of *Picardy*, who under the pretence of freedom and apparent ſimplicity, conceal'd a great deal of ſubtilty and artifice. The Cardinal to gain a reputation among the Zealots for the Catholic Religion, had treated underhand with *John Oſmael* Lord of *Walkembourg*, Governour of *Orange*, who ſeemed diſcontented with his Maſter, to deliver up the place to him. This man bred up by the Family of *Orange*, and intruſted by Prince *Henry* with the charge of his Soveraignty, was gained by the promiſe of four hundred thouſand Livres in ready Money, and an Eſtate

Eſtate of twenty thouſand Livres a Year in *Provence*, whither he deſigned to retire and renounce *Calviniſm*, having no other Religion beſides his intereſt. But this affair being long in hand, and *Walkembourg* reſolving not to render the place till the Money was paid down, the Prince was ſo happy as to get ſome intimation of this Treaſon: He diſpatched the *Sieur Knuth*, a *Zealander*, a man of Reſolution, in whom he had an entire confidence, with an expreſs order to diſpatch this Traytor; but that he might not cauſe the leaſt ſuſpicion, he ſent him to *Orange* alone, as pretending other buſineſs. This *Knuth* with whom I was acquainted, and who was a very bold and dexterous perſon, having made ſure of the principal Inhabitants of the Town, and of ſeveral Gentlemen in the Principality of *Orange*, watched his opportunity to ſurprize the Governour; who being one day come down from the Caſtle into the Town, with very little company, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, he attack'd and killed him in the houſe of one *Pyſe* a Scrivener, whether he was retired. Afterwards *Knuth* went directly to the Caſtle, where the Lieutenant after having levelled the Cannon againſt the Town, and being doubtful for ſome time what he ſhould do, at laſt received him upon ſight of the Prince's order, and took a new Oath of Fidelity to Prince *Henry Frederick* of *Naſſau*, together with all the Garriſon; the Prince afterwards

afterwards ſent the Baron *de Dona* his Brother-in-law to command in the place.

This *Walkembourg* had married the Daughter of the Sieur *de Bie*, Treaſurer to the States, a Lady of great probity and merit, who had uſed all poſſible endeavours to alter his pernicious deſigns. She had the trouble as well as his Daughters to ſee him expire, for he was forced to render himſelf to *Knuth*, after having been wounded through a Chamber-door, where he had for a long time defended himſelf. I have heard my Father relate this ſtory with great indignation, he being a profeſſed Enemy to all Ingratitude and Unfaithfulneſs: and to ſhew me and my Brothers the horrors of thoſe crimes, he related to us upon this occaſion, the Treaſon of *Bernardine de Corte*, who delivered up the Caſtle of *Millan* to King *Lewis* the 12th, for a Hundred thouſand Crowns, that had been intruſted to him by Duke *Lodowick Sforza* his Maſter, by whom he had been bred in the quality of a Page, and was at preſent preferred before all his other Subjects to the command of that place, where he had put all that he thought moſt precious, whilſt he was going to ſeek for ſuccour in *Germany*. He recounted likewiſe to us ſuch another Treaſon of *Donat Raſagnine*, who ſold *Valencia* to the ſame King for fifty thouſand Crowns; and remarked to us from *Guicciardine* that theſe Traytors were ſo look'd on, and deteſted in the

French

French Army, and that ſhame made them die with diſcontent.

This Mr. *Knuth* rendred an important piece of ſervice to his Maſter, who rewarded him with a Preſent, and a Penſion of two thouſand Livers a year for his Life.

No body can imagine but that the Prince of *Orange* muſt bear ſome ill will to Cardinal *Richelieu*, for having endeavoured to take away this Soveraignty, which was as dear to him as his Eyes; but he concealed his reſentment, as expecting ſome favourable opportunity of ſhewing it, which it was not long before it was offered him: for ſome time after the *Cardinal* having ſome difference with *Mary de Medicis*, the Queen Mother, who being of the houſe of *Auſtria* by the mothers ſide, was upheld by all the power of *Spain* and *Germany*, he was forced to have recourſe to foreign Alliances, and to careſs thoſe whom he had before deſpiſed and offended.

This ſtorm which was raiſing againſt the Cardinal for his deſtruction as well within as without the Kingdom, obliged him to ſeek the friendſhip of the Prince of *Orange*, who tho he had not the title of *Soveraign*, diſpoſed of all things belonging to the United Provinces. There was a Treaty concluded between *France* and the States General, by which they were to attack the *Spaniards*, and to divide the Conqueſt of the Low Countries; which

which they had already devoured in their imaginations; the Prince of *Orange* was to enter *Holland* with the *Dutch* Army, and *France* was to joyn him with thirty thouſand Men, and the *French* Generals had orders from the King to obey the Prince of *Orange*; ſo much it ſeems at that time they thought him neceſſary to their affairs. In ſhort, the Spring following the year 1635, the *French* Army under the Command of the Marſhals *Chatillon* and *Breze* enter'd the Low Countries, and defeated the *Spaniſh* Forces at *Avein* commanded by Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, who afterwards took the name of Prince of *Carignon*; all the Baggage and Cannon remained in the poſſeſſion of the *French*, with abundance of Priſoners, ſeveral of which that were of the beſt quality were carried to *Maeſtricht*: Theſe Generals after this Victory joined the Prince of *Orange*, and ſacked part of *Brabant*, but the Prince who did not love the Neighbourhood of the *French* better than that of the *Spaniard*, and had ſtill the remembrance of the affair at *Orange* very freſh in his mind, for want of victuals and ſubſiſtence ruin'd the *French* Army that had been ſo victorious: which being retired into *Holland* after raiſing the Siege of *Lovain*, under pretence of the approach of *Picolomini* with a *German* Army, the greater part of it periſhed there with Hunger and Sickneſs, the ſixth part of it

never returning back again into their own Kingdom.

The Prince of *Orange* looked upon Cardinal *Richelieu* as an Enemy, that was reconcil'd to him only out of the neceſſity that he had for him in his preſent circumſtances, and for this reaſon he under-hand did him all the diſpleaſure, and gave him all the mortification that he could poſſibly; granting a favourable reception to ſuch as had been diſgrac'd by him in *France*; honouring them with his confidence and conſiderable imployments; as amongſt others it appeared by Mr. *Hauterive* and Mr. *Beringhen*, whom he reſpected not only in ſpight of the Cardinal, but becauſe they deſerved it; and Cardinal *Richelieu* as powerful as he was, was forced to ſwallow thoſe Pills, having neceſſary occaſion for *Holland* to make ſome diverſions, which conduced to the good of his other affairs; this made the Cardinal know, that it was not good to offend people of courage, and being a very great Politician, he could diſſemble ſo far as not to be angry at this ill treatment; ſo he continued to ſeek the Prince of *Orange*'s Friendſhip, and it was agreed that each ſhould attack the common Enemy from his own ſide; he maintained a faithful and perfect correſpondence with the *French*; and the Prince who was ſufficiently revenged, and drew great advantages from his alliance with *France*, executed

executed the Treaties he had made with great ſincerity.

The ſame year in which happened the battle of *Avein*, and the Siege of *Louvain*, the *Spaniards* ſurprized the Fort of *Skink*, by means of Lieutenant Collonel *Enhold*, who made himſelf Maſter of it by a party of the Garriſon of *Guelders*, whom he made uſe of to execute ſo bold an Enterprize. The *Sieur Veld* the Governour being waked with the noiſe of the attack, and riſing in his Shirt, had his Arm immediately broken, and being in deſpair to ſee himſelf ſurprized, would not render himſelf Priſoner, whatever offers of quarter they could make him, ſtill defending himſelf till he was overwhelm'd with blows.

The Father of this *Enhold* had been beheaded at the *Hague* for ſome Crime, and the Son to revenge the death of his Father, quitted the *Dutch* ſervice, and put himſelf under the *Spaniard*; which happened very luckily for him, for by the ſurprize of ſo important a place, beſide the inward ſatisfaction which he had, to cauſe ſo great a loſs to the *States*, the *Cardinal Infant Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* being newly arrived in the *Low Countries*, where he had the Soveraign Command preſented him, for ſo bold and happy an action, with a Chain of Gold of great value, and gave him the ſumm of fifty thouſand Livres. But Prince *Henry* was ſo ſet upon the regaining of this place,

that he gave the *Spaniards* free entrance into the Countries of *Guelders* and *Utrecht*; having beſieged it in the month of *Auguſt* 1635, he re-took it in *April* 1636, by a Siege of ſix months.

In the year 1637, Cardinal *Richelieu*, to oblige the Prince of *Orange*, gave him the Title of *Highneſs*, in a diſcourſe made on purpoſe by Monſieur *de Charnaſſe*, Ambaſſadour of *France* to *Holland*, in the Name of his Majeſty; and at an Aſſembly of the *States General*, which was ſoon after printed: In which he was followed by the Ambaſſadors of all other Princes, who before had uſed no other Title but that of *Excellence*.

In the ſame year 1637, Prince *Henry*, by a Siege of four months, re-took the Town and Caſtle of *Breda*, which the Marquis *Ambroſe Spinola* had conquered in the year 1625, by a long Blockade of a whole year, with incredible Expences; although this place was defended by *France*, *England* and *Denmark*; ſo the Marquis put over one of the Gates of the Town, that he had carry'd it, *tribus Regibus fruſtra renitentibus*, notwithſtanding the Reſiſtance of three Kings.

It was at this laſt Siege of *Breda* that *Monſieur de Charnaſſe* was killed; for though he was Ambaſſadour of *France*, yet he would ſerve at the Head of his Regiment, which he had in the *Low Countries*; hoping to become a Mareſchal of *France*, by the

the favour of the Mareſchal *de Breze*, whoſe Aunt he had married, and who had gained him his Employments.

In the year 1639 the *Hollanders* gained a conſiderable Victory at Sea over the *Spaniards*, the Fleet of *Don Antonio Doquendo*, conſiſting of 67 Men of War, that had been equipping ſo long in *Spain*; joyned to ſome Veſſels from *Dunkirk*, who were conſiderable in that time, came for ſome great deſign, (which none yet have ever penetrated) were ſtopped in *St. George's Channel* by the Renowned Admiral *Martin Erpez Tromp*, with only twelve Ships; but being afterwards reinforced with ninety Men of War, and ſeveral Fire-ſhips; that came from diverſe places, he encompaſſed the *Spaniſh* Fleet, (that had put itſelf into the *Downes*, near the Fleet of the King of *Great Britain*, as thinking itſelf to be there in ſafety); and then attacqued it with ſo great reſolution, that after a long Combat, where abundance of perſons of *France*, *England*, and the *Low Countries*, ran from all parts to ſee from the ſhore ſo extraordinary a ſpectacle: The greateſt part of ſo powerful a Fleet was burnt, deſtroyed, or ſeparated; and thoſe which eſcaped put themſelves under the covert of ſome *Engliſh* Veſſels; and ſo retreated into the River of *Thames*, or ſome Port in *Flanders*. The *Spaniards* loſt above 7000 men, that were burnt, or drowned, beſides 2000 who were

made Priſoners by the *Hollanders*. This Victory was very great and memorable, for there were 40 large Veſſels ſunk, burnt, or taken; and amongſt others the great Galeon of *Portugal*, called *Mater Tereza* was burnt, which was 62 foot broad, and had 800 men on board, who all periſhed. This *Tromp* was the Father of Count *Tromp*, who was engaged in the King of *Denmark*'s ſervice, and gained great advantages over the *Swedes*.

In the year 1641, Prince *Henry Frederick* married his only Son Prince *William*, to the Princeſs *Mary* of *England*, eldeſt Daughter to *Charles* I. King of *Great Britain*, and Madam *Henrietta* of *France*; and this Marriage was celebrated with a great deal of Pomp and Magnificence.

The year 1645 was remarkable for the taking of the important Town of *Hulſh* in *Flanders*, which was carried in ſpite of the *Spaniards*, who could neither put ſuccors into it, nor make Prince *Henry* raiſe the Siege.

This Prince during the ſpace of two and twenty years that he had the Government in his hands, was remarkable for his wiſe and moderate conduct. Becauſe the Princeſs *Louiſe de Coligny* his Mother, had maintained *Barnevelt*'s Party, ſome people thought that the Prince following his Mothers inclinations, would re-eſtabliſh that Party, and recall ſuch of them as had been

been baniſhed, and among others Mr *Grotius*: But this Prince, like a good Politician, thought it better to let things continue in the poſture he found them in, than to embroil 'em afreſh, by bringing a prevailing party upon his back: I have ſeen Mr. *Grotius* in a great paſſion upon this occaſion, and he has ſpoke very ill of the Prince, accuſing him of Ingratitude, and of having no reſpect for thoſe who had been Friends to his Mother.

Prince *Henry* was very rich; but inſtead of finding any ſupport from *England*, he was forc'd to help King *Charles* in his neceſſity, with all his ready Money: The greateſt part of which has been repaid by the King of *England*, ſince his Reſtauration, to his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*.

Henry Frederick died the 14th of *March* 1647, and was buried with a great deal of State. Beſides his Children that we have mentioned before, he left a Natural Son, remarkable for his Valor, his name was Mr. *Zuleſtein*, Collonel of the *Dutch* Infantry, who died at the attack of *Vorden*.

Prince *William* of *Orange*, laid the Foundation of the Commonwealth of the *United Provinces*, and was their firſt Founder; his eldeſt Son *Maurice* ſecured and eſtabliſhed this Commonwealth by his Victories, which forced the *Spaniards* in the Treaty of Truce for 12 years to acknowledge the *United Provinces* for a free State; and *Henry*

Frederick, Brother to *Maurice*, and Grandfather to the preſent King of *England*, by the continuation of his Conqueſts, at laſt forced the *Spaniards* to renounce entirely the right which they had pretended to that Country; ſo that we may ſay with reaſon and juſtice, that this illuſtrious Father, and his two generous Sons, who have imitated his Vertues, are the Founders of this *Commonwealth*, which ſends Ambaſſadors that are covered before the moſt powerful Kings in *Chriſtendom*, even before the King of *Spain* himſelf, whoſe Vaſſals they were about 100 years ago.

Henry Frederick had for his deviſe this word, *Patriæq; Patriq;* intimating thereby, that he thought of nothing but ſerving his Country, and revenging the Death of his Father.

THE

WILLIAM II;
Prince of Orange.

THE LIFE OF *WILLIAM* II. Prince of *Orange.*

THis Prince was born in the year 1626, the *States General* were his Godfathers, and by the appointment of his Father was called *William*, after the name of his Illuſtrious Grandfather.

In the year 1630 this young Prince was declared General of the Cavalry of the *Low Countries*, and the year following the *States* granted him the Survivorſhip of the Government of their Province.

He was no ſooner of Age to bear Arms, but he followed his Father to the Army, and was preſent at the Siege of *Breda*, giving great

great proofs of his Courage, though but 13 years old.

Immediately upon the death of his Father *Frederick Henry*, he took the Oath of Fidelity to the *States*, for the Government, of which they had granted him the Reversion.

All *Europe* was in a profound Peace upon conclusion of the Treaty at *Munster*, which was done the next year after Prince *Frederick Henry*'s death. The *States* considering the vast Debts they had contracted by the extraordinary Expences they had been obliged to make, resolved to retrench all unnecessary ones; having a great number of Troops in their pay that were of no use now the War was at an end, they proposed to disband a considerable part of them.

William the Second, who had succeeded in all the Places of the Prince his Father, and knowing very well that nothing but the Army could support the credit of the Places he was possessed of, made a strong opposition to this design of the *States General*: He represented that it was against all the Rules of Policy to disband Troops who had been so faithful to the *Provinces*, and that *France* or *Spain* might make use of this opportunity to fall upon their Commonwealth, in a time when they could not be in a condition to defend themselves. The

States,

States, who were already reſolved to break 120 Companies; to make ſome ſort of ſatisfaction to the *Prince*, offered to continue the ordinary Pay to the disbanded Officers: The *Prince* agreed to this propoſal; but the Province of *Guelders* and the City of *Amſterdam* oppoſed and proteſted againſt it for ſeveral reaſons. They who were in the *Prince*'s Intereſts, adviſed him to viſit the principal Cities of the *Netherlands*, to perſwade the Magiſtrates to take a Reſolution of leaving not only the Officers, but the Troops in the ſame condition they were in before the War, that they might be in a readineſs to ſerve where-ever there was occaſion.

Purſuant to this advice, the *Prince* having ſent for the principal Collonels of the Army, went in perſon to four or five Cities of *Holland*; The Burghers of *Amſterdam*, who were well aſſured that the *Prince* would viſit them too, and apprehending his preſence would croſs the Reſolutions they had taken; deſired him by their Deputies to put off his intended Journey to this City, for ſeveral Reaſons which they gave him: *Haerlem*, *Medemblic*, and ſeveral other places followed the Example of *Amſterdam*.

The Proceedings of theſe *Cities* was ſo conſiderable an Affliction to the *Prince*, and incenſed him ſo much, that in a meeting of the *States General*, he reſented it with

with inexpreſſible concern: He endeavoured to inſinuate to them by a great number of Reaſons, that the Affront they had put upon him, in refuſing to give him Audience, was deſigned only to leſſen his Authority; that nothing but a publick ſatisfaction would make him amends for this Affront; which he demanded earneſtly of the *States*. The Deputies of *Amſterdam*, and other Cities, anſwered this Remonſtrance by a long Manifeſto, wherein they alledged the Reaſons that induced them to make the Prince that Requeſt; this touched him to the quick, and made him continue more obſtinate againſt disbanding the Souldiers; and tranſported him ſo much, that he Arreſted ſix of the principal Magiſtrates, and ſent them Priſoners immediately after into the Caſtle of *Loveſtein*.

This violent proceeding of the Prince alarm'd all *Holland*. The people were generally apprehenſive that he aſpired to the Soveraignty of the *United Provinces*, and that he oppoſed the disbanding the Troops for no other reaſon. All *Europe* ſaid ſomething, and tho probably the Prince had no ſuch deſign, the attempt that he made upon *Amſterdam*, confirmed the ſuſpicions all men had entertained of him, that he was too arrogant to obey the orders of a popular Government: But thoſe who judge impartially of this action, are of opinion, that he

he never aim'd at making himſelf King, and that he had no other proſpect in beſieging *Amſterdam*, but to revenge ſome private affronts, and ſupport his authority and credit by humbling ſuch a powerful City. Whatever his reaſons were, he reſolved to beſiege it, and actually perform'd it on the 30th of *July*, 1650; he narrowly miſs'd of ſurprizing it, for the Citizens had not the leaſt apprehenſion of ſuch a deſign. The Troops appointed for this enterprize put their orders ſo punctually in execution, and met ſo exactly at their rendezvous, that the City muſt unavoidably have fallen into the Prince's hands, but for the *Hamburgh* Courier who paſſed through the Prince's Army without being perceived, and gave timely notice of it to the Magiſtrates. The City immediately took the alarm, the *Council of Thirty ſix* met, the Burghers run to their Arms, the Bridges were drawn up, the Cannon mounted upon the Ramparts, and the City put in a poſture of defence; Deputies were diſpatched to the Prince with propoſals which took up all the next day, which was done to gain time for the opening of their Sluces. The Prince ſeeing all the Country under water, and the impoſſibility of continuing a long Siege, and the firm reſolution of the Burghers, hearkened to a Treaty of accommodation, which

which was concluded three days after, very much to his advantage.

The Prince was ſenſible the States would reſent this attempt, and the better to make his peace with them, he releaſed the Priſoners out of the Caſtle of *Loveſtein*, upon condition that they ſhould be for ever unqualified for any public employments or places, and at the ſame time preſented a Memorial to the States with a particular account of the motives he had to form this Siege. The States ſent it back without opening it, aſſuring him that there needed no juſtification, ſince the difference had been ſo ſoon adjuſted. About a month after the Prince aſſiſted at a particular Aſſembly in the Dutchy of *Guelders*, where by his prudence and good conduct he entirely quieted all the jealouſies they had entertained of him. He returned to the *Hague* about the beginning of *November*, and went to bed very weary with his Journey. He had been obſerved to be melancholy ever ſince the miſcarriage of his deſign upon *Amſterdam*, for which reaſon the Court was not alarm'd with this little indiſpoſition. He was let blood the next day, and the day after the Small Pox appeared, and proved ſo violent, that the Phyſicians believed him in danger; he died the 6th day, in the Twenty fourth year of his age, on the 6th of *November*, 1650.

There

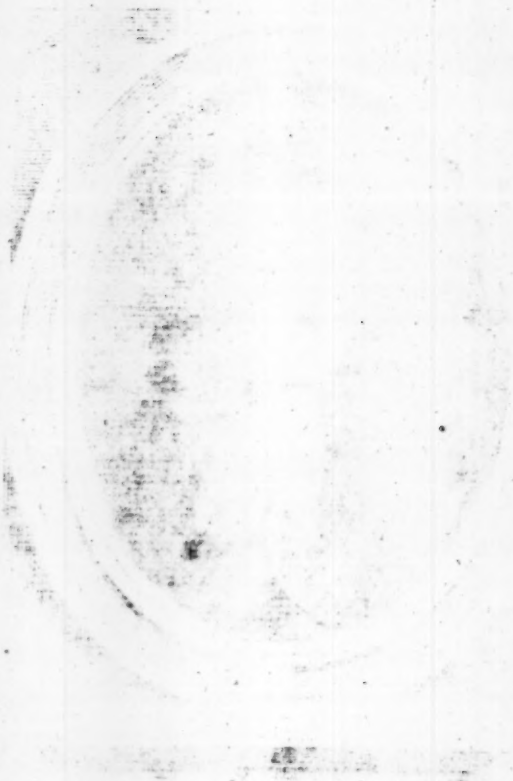
There wanted but three things to make his memory immortal, *viz.* The Continuation of the War, which he paſſionately deſired, a longer Life, and a little more Deference to the State, whom he treated with too much authority; for he was Maſter of a great many good qualities, and eminently poſſeſſed the advantages of body and mind. He was a great General, and would have been as renowned for all civil and military vertues, as the Heroes of his Family. He had a vaſt comprehenſive Genius, and learned in his Youth the Mathematics, and ſpoke *Engliſh*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *High Dutch*, as readily and fluently as his Mother Tongue. He was buried at *Delf* in the magnificent Tomb of the Princes of *Orange* in great ſtate.

He married *Mary Stuart*, eldeſt Daughter to *Charles* I. King of *Great Britain*. An Illuſtrious Birth, Intereſt of State, and Glory, are the three ordinary motives which ſway Princes in the choice of their alliances, and all three concur in the making this match; for the Glory of the immortal actions of his Father *Frederick* were ſpread over all *Europe*. *William* his Son had given a Thouſand proofs that he did not degenerate from the Valour and Vertue of his Anceſtors? and the Family of *Naſſau*, had given five Electors to *Cologne* and *Ments*, and an Emperor to *Germany*.

The

The propoſals were no ſooner made, but they were accepted, and the Marriage was celebrated at *London* with great magnificence. From this Marriage was born *William* III. whoſe Hiſtory we are now entring upon.

THE



WILLIAM III.
KING of ENGLAND.
Prince of Orange etc.

THE HISTORY OF *WILLIAM* III. Prince of *Orange*, AND King of *GREAT BRITAIN*.

Out of the *French* by Mr. *Brown*.

THE ſudden and unexpected death of *William* II. (who died in the 24th year of his age) threw the Court and Friends of the Houſe of *Naſſau* into ſuch a conſternation as is not eaſie to be expreſt. But to moderate their grief, the Princeſs Royal within eight days after was delivered of *William Henry*, a Prince in whom the valour and all the other qualities of his glorious anceſtors revived; and who may juſtly be

stiled the Restorer of that flourishing Republick, whereof his Fathers were the Architects and Founders. * He was born on the fourteenth of *November*, 1650, and had for his Godfathers, the States of *Holland* and of *Zealand*, the Cities of *Delf*, *Leiden*, and *Amsterdam*.

* According to the new Stile, which I have all along followed with my Author.

As it was his misfortune to be born at a calamitous conjuncture, when his enemies were furnished with a plausible pretence to deprive him of those Dignities which his Ancestors had enjoy'd; the States General finding themselves now at liberty, by the death of *William* II. and concluding from the enterprize of *Amsterdam* what they might expect from a single Governour, resolved to remedy all inconveniences that might for the future happen upon this occasion, and so appointed a General Assembly to meet at the *Hague*. This Assembly began on the eighteenth of *January* 1651, and did not end till the month of *August* the same year. In the first Session it was resolved, That since the Country was now without a Governour, by the death of the Prince, the choice of all Officers and Magistrates for the time to come should be in the disposal of the Cities; and that not only the ordinary Souldiers, but even the Guards of the deceased Prince should take an Oath of Fidelity to the States of *Holland*. This was unanimously carry'd, notwithstanding all the representations made by the Princess his Mother, who ineffectually

ally labored to preſerve him in thoſe Offices which her Husband poſſeſſed, and before him the other Princes of *Orange*: the Royal Family of Great *Britain*, from whom principally ſhe could expect any aſſiſtance, being at that time under an Eclipſe through the wicked Machinations of thoſe execrable Parricides, who after they had barbaroufly Murder'd their lawful Soveraing King *Charles* I. of Bleſſed Memory, by a train of Hypocriſy and other Villanies peculiar to their Party, ſhared the Soveraignty between themſelves.

Our Prince, who like *Hercules* was to encounter Snakes in his Cradle, ſuffer'd a great deal from the intreagues and contrivances of *Barnevelt*'s Party, now re-eſtabliſhed in the Perſons of the *Meſſieurs De Witt*. But he bore all with incredible moderation, ſtill waiting for a favorable opportunity to be reſtor'd to thoſe dignities and great Employments he had been deprived of by a publick decree, obtained by a predominant Faction, immediately after the death of his Father. It muſt be confeſſed that *France* in ſome meaſure contributed to his re-eſtabliſhment, altho without the leaſt deſign to favour the Prince: Heaven ſo ordering it that that mighty Monarch ſhould ravage and almoſt deſtroy this flouriſhing Republic, to convince the world at the ſame time that only the Family of the Founders of this Republic was capable to repair its Ruines, and reſtore it to its former Grandeur.

The Reader can ſcarce imagine with what a prodigious torrent the King of *France* overran and ſurprized all the United Provinces, obliging the greateſt part of the Frontier Towns and other Capital Cities to ſurrender themſelves. Amongſt the reſt, *Utrecht* and *Zutphen* open'd their Gates at the firſt approach of the Enemy; for altho there were large Garriſons in both thoſe places, yet being compoſed of Burghers, and commanded by Officers of little or no experience, they were frighted at the ſight of a well diſciplin'd, couragious army, that knew how to make the beſt advantage of the victory, and the fright they had put their enemies in.

Theſe calamities, which had been foreſeen long before by ſome of the moſt prudent perſons of theſe Provinces, as they occaſioned a general conſternation, ſo they gave the people ſubject to complain of the ill conduct of the Mrs *de Wit*, who at that time had all the authority of the Government in their hands; and by this means furniſhed the friends of the Houſe of *Naſſau* with a favourable opportunity to ſpeak their thoughts upon what paſſed at that time: Which they did by way of advice to the People, giving them to underſtand that the Princes of *Orange* were probably the only Perſons that were able to ſupport their tottering State, and to defend them againſt their moſt puiſſant Enemies: Adding that as theſe illuſtri-

illuſtrious Princes had formerly deliver'd them from the tyranny of the *Spaniards*, ſo they alone could ſtop the fury and career of the *French*.

The Princeſs *Dowager*, Grand mother to his Highneſs, a Lady of incomparable prudence and of a courage above her Sex, did not contribute a little by her addreſs to awaken thoſe Perſons that were in her intereſts, and who were not inconſiderable for their number: Theſe at laſt not being able to ſee themſelves any longer deſpiſed, or that all the great Offices of State ſhou'd be thrown away upon Perſons that were not worthy of them; and at the ſame time making uſe of the fury of the people, who juſtly alarm'd to ſee a victorious Army in the bowels of their Country, ſpoke of nothing but Sacrificing the *De Witts*, managed their affairs ſo dexterouſly that they attained their deſigns: for after the Prince had made a Journey towards the beginning of the Year 1672 to viſit the fortifications of ſome Places, the States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frizeland* being aſſembled, it was unanimouſly agreed, that he ſhould be choſe General of their Army, which was notified next day to the States General; and on the 24th of *February* the Prince having accepted their offer, took the Oaths before them with the accuſtomed Ceremonies. It is very remarkable that the Peaſants of *Weſt-Frizeland*, who make excellent Souldiers, wou'd not take up Arms but with this condition, *that*

they ſhould ſwear to be true to the Republic, and to obey the States and his Highneſs the Prince of Orange.

The immoderate ambition of ſome Perſons had formerly occaſion'd two fatal Factions, who to fortify their own particular intereſts weakned the Nerves of the public ſecurity: which made thoſe who had the greateſt Credit with the People commit the greateſt Soleciſm's in matter of Policy that any Party can be guilty of. For theſe ſhort-ſighted Statesmen imagining that after the Peace of *Munſter*, there was nothing left them to fear, and that no body cou'd hurt them in their Pretenſions, but the too great power of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, by reaſon of its Alliances with *France*, and particularly with *England*, they caſheer'd their Troops compoſed of old Soldiers, and experienced Captains, who had preſerved the Country, but were looked upon to be intirely devoted to the Prince of *Orange*; and at the ſame time gave the greateſt Poſts in their Army and in their Garriſons to the Sons of *Burgher Maſters* and Deputies of Cities, People who however brave they might be in their own Perſons, were for the moſt part of little or no experience, as having never ſeen a Battle, and this was the reaſon that when they came to be ſurprized by a vigorous Enemy, whole Cities, altho they had in Garriſon five thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe, ſurrendred at diſcretion, without diſcharging

one Gun, at the firſt ſight and appearance of the Enemy. Thus Faction and Intereſt, that are commonly the deſtruction of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms, having reduced the States General to the brink of deſpair, they were conſtrained to have recourſe to their laſt *Aſylum*, the Prince of *Orange*, in order to avoid their approaching ruine; and to place the little hope that was remaining, in the hands of one perſon. whom the prevailing party had formerly rejected with a great deal of ingratitude, and who indeed did not deſerve ſuch a hard deſtiny: for, in fine, Children ought not to be reſponſible for the actions of their Fathers, when they have by no means juſtified them.

The Prince had no ſooner accepted the high Charge of General of the Armies, which was preſented to him from the part of the States by Monſieur *de Beverning*, *John de Wit*, and *Gaſpar Fagel*, but he immediately repaired to the Army, which was then poſted near *Nieu Rop*; where all he cou'd do againſt the united forces of the *French*, commanded by the King in perſon, was to keep his poſt. And this he performed with ſo much conduct, that the Enemy, as powerful as he was, cou'd have no advantage over him on that ſide. On the other hand, thinking to force the Prince out of his retrenchments, they were forced to retire with loſs, and to abandon their works.

All this while the frontier Towns and Garriſons in the Province of *Holland* fell every day into the hands of the Enemy, which made the people complain openly, and diſtruſt the fidelity of thoſe that governed. The Inhabitants of *Dort* were the firſt that roſe; and ſent one of their Captains to the Magiſtrates, to know whether they were reſolved to defend the City, or to ſit ſtill. The Magiſtrates anſwered that they were ready to reſiſt the efforts of thoſe that ſhould attaque them, and to do all that could be expected from them; the people demanded at the ſame time to ſee the Magazines. But the Keys being miſſing, this put the Mobb into ſo great a ferment, that there were a thouſand voices crying out at the ſame time, That there was Treachery in the caſe; That they would have the Prince of *Orange* to be their Head and Governour; threatning to murder the Magiſtrates upon the ſpot, if they did not immediately comply with their demands. Theſe menaces ſo terribly alarmed the Magiſtrates, that they diſpatched Commiſſioners that very moment to his Highneſs, deſiring him to come to their City with all poſſible haſte, to prevent by his preſence the inſurrection of the people. The Prince alledged ſeveral reaſons to them, to convince them how dangerous it was for him to leave the Army; but all was to no purpoſe: they perſiſted ſtill in their demand, till at laſt the Prince reſolved to grant what they

they desired. Being therefore with great solemnity conducted to the Town-Hall, they intreated him to signify his pleasure to them. To which his Highness answered, that it belonged to them to make propoſals to him, since they were the occasion of his coming. After some demur they requested him, that for the satisfaction of the People, he would be pleased to visit the Fortifications and Magazines of the City, without taking the least notice of making him Stadt-holder; to which the Prince freely consented, and to that effect made the *tour* of the Town immediately. But at his return, the people suspecting that the Magistrates had deceived them, as well as they had done the Prince, flocked in great multitudes about his Coach, and boldly asked him, but with a great deal of respect for his person, whether the Magistrates had made him their Governour or no? His Highness having modestly answered, That he was content with the honour they had already done him, and that he had as much as he cou'd desire; they unanimously declared, That they wou'd not lay down their Arms till they had chose him *Stadtholder*. So that at last, the Magistrates, terrified with the menaces of the people, and not knowing what other measures to take in so critical a juncture, were, not without some repugnance, constrained to accomplish what they had before only done by halves: So difficult a matter it is for men to lay aside a settled hatred

tred and averſion, that has once taken root in their hearts.

Upon this they paſſed an Ordinance to aboliſh the perpetual Edict; which the Prince refuſed to own, unleſs they would abſolve him of the Oath he had taken, when he accepted the Charge only of Captain General, which they gave him likewiſe by this Ordinance. So they immediately made another Act, which was read in the great Hall by the Secretary, by which the Magiſtrates declared his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* to be *Stadt-holder, Captain, and Admiral General of all their forces, as well by Sea as by Land*; and gave him all the power, dignity, and authority which his Anceſtors, of glorious memory, had enjoy'd.

After this the whole City rang with acclamations of an univerſal joy, and the arms of the Houſe of *Orange* were immediately placed upon the Towers, and Ramparts.

Only *Cornelius de Wit*, an ancient Burgher-maſter, coming from the Fleet ſick and indiſpoſed, ſaid he wou'd never ſign the Act, whatever inſtances were made him to do it. He was preſſed after an extraordinary manner not to refuſe the ſigning of it, but neither the perſwaſions of the chief men of the City, nor the threatnings of the people, who were ready to plunder his houſe, nor the tears of his Wife, who was ſenſible of the great danger he was in, cou'd prevail with him to alter his reſolutions. Nay, it went

ſo

ſo far, that his Wife threatned to ſhow her ſelf at the Window, and declare her own innocence and that of her Children, and to abandon him to the fury of the populace; but all this made no impreſſion upon him.

Dort was not the only place that roſe up after this manner: All the Cities of *Holland* and *Zealand*, where the Burghers took notice of the ill conduct of their Magiſtrates, did almoſt the ſame thing. So that upon a report made by the Deputies of the reſpective Cities, the States of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Frieſland*, did not only confirm what had been done by the City of *Dort*, but in a full Aſſembly of the States, they preſented his Highneſs with ſome publick Acts, by which the Prince was abſolved from his firſt Oath of Captain General, and at the ſame time was inveſted with the Dignity of Stadt-holder, together with all the rights, juriſdictions and priviledges heretofore granted to his Predeceſſors. In conſequence of which his Highneſs the very ſame day, in the Hall of Audience, took the place of Stadt-holder, Captain, and Admiral General of the *United Provinces*, with the uſual Ceremonies; and afterwards returned to the Army, that was encamped at *Bodegrave*.

From this very moment, as if the re-eſtabliſhment of the Prince had inſpired the people with new Courage, a body of five thouſand *French* were twice repulſed before *Ardemburgh*; and without counting thoſe that were

were killed upon the place, were forced to leave five hundred Priſoners behind them, amongſt which were ſeveral Officers, and perſons of Quality; and all this effected by the extraordinary bravery of no more than two hundred Burghers. 'Tis true, that the Women and Boys aſſiſted them, no body being ſpared upon this occaſion; which will be an everlaſting diſgrace to *France*, that looked upon the City as good as in their own poſſeſſion.

The Burghers of *Groningen* did not defend themſelves with leſs Courage and good fortune againſt the Biſhop of *Munſter*, than thoſe of *Ardemburgh* had done againſt the King of *France*. For that Biſhop having beſieg'd this City with an Army of twenty five or thirty thouſand men, he was obliged to raiſe the Siege, with the loſs of almoſt half his Souldiers, after he had been at a prodigious expence in buying all ſorts of Ammunition and Inſtruments of War, neceſſary to make himſelf maſter of that important place.

In the midſt of this extraordinary zeal the people ſhow'd for the Prince, an accident happen'd that ſerved to confirm him more effectually in their affection, and occaſioned the death of two of his greateſt enemies.

For a Chyrurgion having accuſed *Cornelius de Wit*, *Bailiff* of *Putten*, with having ſecretly propoſed to him to poiſon or kill the Prince of *Orange*; after examination of the matter the

the *Baoliff* was apprehended and put in Priſon, and altho he denied what was laid to his charge by throwing back the ſame crime upon his Accuſer, in order to juſtifie himſelf to the Prince and People, nevertheleſs being confronted with the Chyrurgeon, who ſtill perſiſted in his Accuſation, which he confirmed by a promiſe that he ſaid the *Bailiff* had made him of 300000 Franks for a recompence, and of ſix Ducatoons which he had given him in hand, and by ſeveral other circumſtances, uſual in affairs of this nature: the Court of *Holland*, after they had maturely conſidered the report made by the Advocate General, condemned *Cornelius* to be diveſted of all his dignities and employments, and to be perpetually baniſhed out of the Territories of *Holland* and *Friezeland*. But the people ſeeing the States had puſhed on the matter ſo far, and imagining that a Criminal who was treated with ſo much ſeverity, wou'd have received a greater puniſhment if the Judges had not favoured him, began to murmur at the Sentence, as too mild and gentle; and immediately ran towards the Priſon with weapons in their hands. It hapned at this moment that *John de Wit* came in his Coach to take his Brother out of Priſon, when one of the Burghers dropping theſe words amongſt the people; *Now the two Traytors are together, and it is our fault if they ſcape us.* This was enough to animate the Mobb who were heated enough

before:

before: but another thing happen'd, that helped to exaſperate them more; which was, that whilſt the people were waiting for the coming out of the two Brothers, ſome body or other had maliciouſly ſpread a report, that above a thouſand Peaſants and Fiſhermen were marching towards the *Hague* to plunder it. Upon which another Burgher ſaying, *Come along Gentlemen, let us make theſe Traytors come out; follow me and I will ſhow you the way.* Theſe words inflamed them to the higheſt degree, ſo they immediately burnt the Priſon-gates, drew out the two Brothers by main violence, dragg'd them about the ſtreets, murder'd them, and cut them to pieces, crying aloud, *Behold the Traytors that have betray'd their Country.*

Thus fell *Cornelius* and *John de Witt*, two ſworn Enemies of the Houſe of *Orange*. 'Tis commonly pretended that *John* was Author of theſe politic reſolutions, *viz.* the excluſion of his Royal Highneſs from all his Offices, of the perpetual Edict, and of the Qualities requiſite for a Stadt-holder. *Min Heer Fagel* ſucceeded the Penſioner in his place, the Prince of *Orange* having approved his election. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* writ a Letter to the States in favour of the Prince, telling them that ſince he heard his R. Highneſs was re-eſtabliſhed in the dignities of his Anceſtors, he did not doubt but Heaven would proſper a reſolution ſo advantageous

to

to the public, eſpecially ſince he knew the Prince inherited all the Vertues of his Glorious Predeceſſors; proteſting beſides that he found himſelf obliged ſince his Elevation, to contribute all that lay in his power to aſſiſt the Prince, to recover and preſerve what his Anceſtors had acquired at the expence of their own blood, with ſo much reputation to themſelves.

About this time the Prince being reſolved to diſlodge the advanced Guards of the *French*, made a Detachment of Horſe and Foot, and with them gives an Alarm to the Enemy, whom he chaſed as far as their trenches before *Utrecht*, diſheartened with the loſs of their own men before *Cronemburgh*. While both Parties were thus buſied in the Feild there was great changing of the Magiſtrates in moſt of the Cities, to the great ſatisfaction of the Inhabitants, who now hoped to ſee their Country enjoy its ancient Tranquillity. His Highneſs not being any longer able to ſuffer the corruption of Military Diſcipline, which had been ſo fatal to the Republic in general, ordered ſeveral Officers to be puniſhed for their Cowardice and Treachery. But nothing touched him ſo ſenſibly as to ſee the Seaſon almoſt paſt without any conſiderable action, which made him reſolve to attack *Narden*. For this purpoſe he commands Coll. *Zuleſtein* and Count *Horn* to advance; the firſt to take his quarters between *Utrecht* and *Narden*, and the

the other to intrench himſelf at *Polanen*, on the Mill ſide. His Highneſs intrenched on that part near *Bodegrave* with four Regiments. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* made all imaginable haſte to relieve the beſieged, and with about eight or nine thouſand men fell upon the quarter of Coll. *Zuleſtein*, but was repulſed with loſs, and forced to retire. The Town was afterwards batter'd in a very furious manner, and reduced to ſuch extremities that they ſent Deputies to capitulate. But in this interval the Duke of *Luxemburgh* having received a new reinforcement, marched by a way full of water, by the help of ſome Peaſants, who ſerved him as Guides; he once more attacqued, when they leaſt expected him, the very ſame quarters of Coll. *Zuleſtein*, from whence he had been beaten the night before; and after a bloody reſolute diſpute, wherein the Collonel was ſlain, (having refuſed quarter,) the Duke at laſt threw three thouſand men, by way of relief, into the Town: Nevertheleſs he was repulſed the ſecond time by Count *Horn*, and forced to leave his Priſoners behind him. Of the *French* there were 1000 killed, and fifty Officers who dyed of their wounds within 5 days after the engagement, without reckoning thoſe that loſt their Arms and Legs upon this occaſion: Which cauſed ſo great a conſternation amongſt the *French* that were at *Utrecht*, that after this time the Officers drew lots, when they were go out in any Parties

Parties againſt the Prince of *Orange*. Of the *Hollanders* were ſlain Six or Seven Hundred Men, beſides Coll. *Zuleſtein*, and a Lieutenant Collonel.

His Highneſs ſeeing the City had received ſo conſiderable a relief, retired to his own Quarters, with the honor of a compleat Victory, and raiſed the Seige without the leaſt loſs, having defeated almoſt five entire Regiments, the greateſt part of their Officers being either ſlain or mortally wounded, and having twice repulſed an old General, who had never ſucceeded in his deſign had it not been for the perfidiouſneſs of the Peaſants.

After the unſucceſsful attempt upon *Narden*, his Highneſs aſſembled a Council of War, at which the principal Officers of the Army aſſiſted, and having commanded the Horſe that were quartered at *Helden* to hinder the *Engliſh* Merchandiſe from being tranſported from *Rotterdam* to *Brabant*, he marched himſelf to *Roſendael*, which was the place of the general Randezvous, from whence with an Army compoſed of Twenty four Thouſand Horſe and Foot, he took his march directly to the Country of *Liege*. At his approach the Count *de Duras*, who was at *Moſeyk*, retired with his Army to *Vaſſemburgh*, and higher towards the River *Roer*. 'Twas believed that his Highneſs's principal deſign was to chaſe the *French* from their quarters near the *Meuſe*, and give battle to the Count *de Duras*, who commanded the Enemy's

Troops, in caſe he found a favorable opportunity to do it. To effect this, having paſſed his Army upon a bridge of boats near *Navagne*, and joyned the Auxiliaries which came to him from *Spain*, he marched directly to *Tongres*, and inveſted it on all ſides with the *Spaniſh* Cavalry and his own. He had no ſooner done this, but news was brought him that the Count *de Duras* had decamped, upon which repaſſing the *Meuſe* between *Sittart* and *Maſeik*, he encamped near *Ainsberg*, where he continued two days, to ſee if he cou'd engage the Count to give him battle, but the River which was ſwell'd with the late rains not favouring his deſign, he returned the ſame way to *Maſtricht*; from whence he detach'd a party of Horſe and Foot to poſſeſs themſelves of the Caſtle of *Valcheron*. This Caſtle was ſtrongly fortified, but after ſome reſiſtance ſurrendred at diſcretion. They found in it great quantity of Hay and Corn, and other Proviſions. After this his Highneſs marched to *Lewick*, hoping to engage the Enemy, but the Count had retired in mighty ſpeed, and was got at ſuch a diſtance from the Prince's Army, that it was impoſſible to overtake him.

At laſt perceiving that the Count *de Duras* had no mind to hazard a battle, he ordered the Count *de Marcin* to inveſt *Charleroy* with the Van-guard, while he himſelf followed with the main body of the Army; but the weather

weather was ſo violently cold that it was impoſſible to open the Trenches, or to make the leaſt circumvallation, ſo that after he had made himſelf Maſter of *Bins*, taking three Captains with Three Hundred Soldiers Priſoners, pillaged and demolliſhed the Town, he marched back the ſame way, and put his Army into Winter Quarters. The Count *de Montal*, who ſometimes ſhut himſelf up in *Tongres*, and ſometimes in *Charleroy*, becauſe he was afraid for both theſe places, and yet could not tell which of them the Prince would beſiege, was much miſtaken to imagine, that the Prince would undertake a long ſiege in the moſt rigorous ſeaſon of the Year. However it was very remarkable, That a young General, who commanded an Army compoſed of ſo many different Nations, ſhould be able to march in the midſt of ſo violent a Winter into the Enemies Country, to beat an old General from his poſt, to offer him battle, and for this purpoſe to follow him from place to place, to alarm two ſtrong Garriſons, and return home with abundance of Priſoners, and the booty of two fortified places, and all this in the compaſs of nine days, without the loſs of any of his men, or at leaſt very few. Not to mention the terror he put the Archbiſhop of *Colen* in, who neither thought himſelf ſafe at *Bonn*, or any other place within his own Territories, while the Prince was ſo near him.

During the Prince's Expedition, the Duke of *Luxemburg* got together an Army of Forty Thouſand Horſe and Foot, with a reſolution to conquer the Province of *Holland*, and hoping to enrich himſelf and his men with the pillage of *Leyden* and the *Hague*, deſigned to march upon the Ice, with the Flower of the *French* Army, towards the end of *December*; but being arrived at *Slinwetering* he found the Waters ſo high that only Three Thouſand five Hundred Foot could paſs, the reſt being obliged to return to *Naerden*. This party firſt attacked *Nieucrop*, but was repulſed by the Peaſants, ſo that he marched toward *Swammerdam*, where the Soldiers were the firſt that fled, leaving the Inhabitants to the Mercy of the Enemy. Nevertheleſs Count *Koningſmark*, who commanded at *Bodegrave*, having advice of the coming of the *French*, made all imaginable haſte to march by *Leiden*, and poſted a Regiment at *Gourſluys* to hinder their incurſions on that ſide.

This deſperate and unexpected march of the *French* at firſt put the people into a great conſternation, particularly thoſe of the *Hague*; but nothing diſcouraged them ſo much, as to hear that while the States took all imaginable care to prevent the Enemies returning, Collonel *Painvin* had abandoned his Poſt at *Niewerbourg*, and retired to *Tergou*. By this means the Enemy had an open free paſſage to go home when they pleaſed,

pleaſed, whereas otherwiſe they muſt either have periſhed in the Water, or elſe ſurrendred themſelves at diſcretion, by reaſon of the great Thaw which followed ſoon after: But all their fears and apprehenſions vaniſh'd at the Prince of *Orange*'s return, who having at *Breda* received advice of this enterprize of the *French*, arrived with incredible diligence at *Alfen*, and in a ſhort time his preſence reeſtabliſhed every thing as before. All this while the Duke of *Luxemburg* ravaged the heart of the Country, where he had like to have loſt his life by a fall from his Horſe into the water which was thaw'd, his people ſaving him not without a great deal of difficulty. But tho he made a ſhift to eſcape, it did not fare ſo well with Six Hundred of his beſt Soldiers, who there periſhed. Thus ended this bold and hazardous Expedition.

It is certain the *French* committed unheard of cruelties at *Swammerdam*, and all other places that fell into their hands, raviſhing the women, ſtripping and wounding young and old, and throwing Children into the Fire. But theſe loſſes nevertheleſs were in ſome manner recompenced by the taking of *Coeverden*, which is one of the ſtrongeſt Cities in the *Low Countries*, the Key of *Friezland* and *Groningen*, encompaſſed on all ſides with a Moraſs, fortified with large deep double Ditches, the Ramparts extreamly high and ſtrong, and defended by ſeven Baſtions that

carry the names of the ſeven United Provinces, and a very regular Caſtle, looked upon by ancient Writers to be impregnable. This City fell into the hands of the Biſhop of *Munſter*, in the fatal Year 1672, not without ſuſpicion of Treachery. But Fortune now declining to eſpouſe the *French* Intereſt any longer, ſince his Highneſs was reſtored to all his paternal dignities; it was retaken with as much gallantry and courage, as it had been loſt with diſhonor and cowardice. For this very ſame place, which *Verdugo* had in vain beſieged, for the ſpace of one and thirty weeks together; and which the Biſhop of *Munſter*, after he had rendred himſelf Maſter of it, had plentifully ſtored with proviſions, out of a proſpect of making it the Magazine for thoſe parts, was by a party of Nine Hundred and Sixty men only, commanded by M. *de Rabenhaut*, retaken in leſs than an hour, without the loſs of more than Sixty men, whereas the Enemy loſt above an Hundred and fifty, beſides the Officers that were ſlain at the aſſault, and four Hundred and thirty Priſoners taken, of which number were ſix Captains, eleven Lieutenants, and fourteen Enſigns. The reſt of the Garriſon, for in all it conſiſted of Nine Hundred men, ſaved themſelves by a precipitate flight as ſoon as they ſaw the City was loſt. But what was moſt conſiderable, there was found in this important Fortreſs ſuch a prodigious quantity of all warlike

Ammunitions,

Ammunitions, and other Proviſions, that without queſtion the Enemy might have maintain'd the Siege much longer. Beſides as the retaking of this ſtrong place by the *Hollanders*, gave infinite incouragement to the people, ſo the loſs of it extremely mortified the Enemy, and put them into ſuch a terrible conſternation, that upon the news of this loſs they abandon'd ſeveral other places. All this ſerved to increaſe the reputation of his Royal Highneſs, for the people obſerving how much all affairs went for the better, ever ſince the management of them was lodged in his hands, they were eaſily perſwaded, and that not without good reaſon, that all this unexpected ſeries of ſucceſſes was the ſole effect of his bravery and conduct.

At this time the diſputes between the new and old Magiſtrates of *Friezland* were carried on with that warmth and vigour that they held their Aſſemblies apart, and formed reſolutions intirely oppoſite to each other. This diſorder, which might in time have proved pernicious to the public tranquillity, cou'd neither be determin'd by the Governor of that Province, nor by the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*, whatever inſtances and precautions both one and the other uſed to extinguiſh the differences; but no ſooner had the Commiſſioners ſent by the Prince arrived there, but all theſe breaches were repaired, and the Country once more ſettled in order and union.

After this, his Highneſs went in perſon to *Zealand*, where the ſame diviſions reigned as in *Friezland*; and at the moment he appear'd in the Aſſembly of the States at *Middleburg*, all the differences vaniſhed, and the Province was in a condition to defend it ſelf, to the great ſatisfaction of the people in general, the Magiſtrates in particular, and the eternal praiſe of this illuſtrious Prince. He took occaſion from hence to go and viſit the frontiers and fortifications of *Fluſhing*, *Sluys*, and *Ardenburgh*, where they deliver'd him the Keys in a Silver Baſon by the hands of the young Maids of the City, all dreſt up with Flowers. He did the ſame thing at *Aſſendyck*, *Bergen ap zoom*, *Breda*, *Boiſleduc*, and other places; and after making an exact review returned to the *Hague*.

The Spring was by this time well advanced, and the *Hollanders* had buſineſs enough on their hands; for on one ſide they were attaqued by the King of *France* in perſon with a powerful Army, and the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Luxemburg* were at *Utrecht* with great forces, watching an opportunity to throw themſelves into the heart of the Country; and on the other ſide the King of *Great Britain*, with his Fleet and that of *France* conjoyn'd, vigorouſly attacqued them. For theſe reaſons the Prince of *Orange* cou'd not ſtir abroad, being conſtrained to keep his poſt, as well to have an eye upon the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Luxemburg*,

Luxemburg, as to prevent the deſcent of the *Engliſh*.

In the beginning of *May* 1673, the King of *France* parted from *Paris* at the head of a great Army, which ſeveral other Bodies in the *French* Acquiſitions were to join; and after a ſlow march ſate down before *Maeſtricht* on the 10th of *June* with all his forces, conſiſting in all of forty two thouſand Horſe and Foot; having given Orders before to the Count *d' Orge* to inveſt the place with three thouſand Horſe. The Garriſon of *Maeſtricht* conſiſted of about four thouſand Foot, and eight or nine hundred Horſe, under the command of Monſieur *de Farjaux* Governour of the Town, a brave experienced Captain, as he abundantly convinced all the World by the generous reſiſtance he made, and by that vaſt inundation of blood it coſt the *French* King to take it; who loſt on this occaſion more than 9000 of his beſt Souldiers, all his Muſqueteers except ſeven, and an infinite number of gallant Officers: and perhaps it had not been purchaſed ſo eaſily, if the Beſieged had been in time relieved with a recruit only of a thouſand men, or if they had been better provided with ammunition, which now began to fail them. It would be too tedious to give an exact relation here of all the rencounters, and bloody combats that happen'd night and day, and of the firing which was made on both ſides, this being rather the buſineſs of a Journaliſt than

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an Hiſtorian. I ſhall therefore content my ſelf to ſay in a few words, that after the Garriſon, by a vigorous defence, which laſted near three weeks, had loſt one half of her men, by continual Batteries and Aſſaults one after another, and thoſe that remained were not in a condition to defend themſelves any longer, by reaſon of the perpetual fatigues they had endured, the Governour was forced at laſt, at the repeated inſtances of the Magiſtrates, or rather by the treachery of ſome Eccleſiaſticks of the *Romiſh* perſwaſion, to capitulate and ſurrender himſelf. In effect, upon a faithful relation which the Governor gave his Highneſs of all that had happen'd, the Prince was ſo well ſatisfy'd with his conduct, that he made him Major General of his Army.

And to ſay the truth his oppoſition had been ſo vigorous, and withal ſo fatal to the *French*, that the King of *France* thought he had done enough for this Campaign in only taking *Maſtricht*. So that after he had demoliſhed the Fortifications of *Tongres*, he divided his Army at the ſame time, part of which he ſent to the Mareſchal *de Turenne*, another body was appointed to ravage the Country of *Triers*, becauſe the Elector of that name had taken the Emperor's ſide. And three *Brigades* marched immediately to reinforce the Army which was in *Holland*.

The *French* Army being thus diſperſed, and the *Engliſh* Fleet after the laſt Engagement leaving

leaving the Coasts of *Holland*, the Prince of *Orange* found himself more at liberty, and not enduring to spend any more time without action, he recalled all the Troops that were in *Zealand*, to come and joyn the rest of his Army, and marched all on the sudden to besiege *Naerden* with twenty five thousand Men. He gave the Command of the Cavalry to Major General *Farjaux*, and took his Quarter on one side, and Count *Waldeck* on the other. While things were in this posture, the Duke of *Luxemburg* having made up a body of ten thousand Men besides four Regiments of *Munsterian* Horse, advanced within sight of the *Dutch*, as far as the Prince's intrenchments, which by that time were finished; but not daring to relieve the Town, the Prince pursued his design, took the Counterscarp by assault, and the Ravelin before the *Huyserport* after three hours resistance, forced the besieged to retire into the Town in great disorder, and obliged them the day following after the loss of their Forts to demand leave to Capitulate. In short the Town was surrendred, on condition the Garrison should march out with Colours flying, Drums beating, and two pieces of Cannon.

The Governour, as he passed by, saluted his Highness with a profound Reverence, and as 'tis reported, told the Prince that he had very good reasons, for delivering up the Town in so short a time, which he would acquaint

acquaint the King his maſter with at a proper time and place: but in all appearance his reaſons upon examination were not thought valid, for he was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, after he had been degraded at *Utrecht* in a very ignominious manner. 'Tis true, all the world was ſurprized, that the *French* ſo eaſily abandon'd a place of that importance and ſtrength, and which was in ſo good a condition to defend it ſelf; for there were Two thouſand Nine hundred and thirty Souldiers in the Garriſon, who wanted no proviſions; beſides that the *French*, ever ſince they had rendred themſelves Maſters of it had fortified it extremely. But whatever was the cauſe of it, whether ſome diviſions ariſing between them and the *Swiſſers*, as ſome people imagine, or ſomething elſe which we don't know, his Highneſs, who to encourage the Souldiers by his own example, expoſed his perſon to all dangers, both in the Trenches and upon the Batteries, carried the Town in four days, having only 100 men ſlain outright, and about 200 wounded, whereas the Enemy loſt abundance more, which is quite contrary to what happens in all other Sieges. Nor was he leſs careful to preſerve his conqueſt, than he was to acquire it: to this purpoſe having given all neceſſary orders to repair the Fortifications, and placed a ſufficient Garriſon in in it, he made Count *Coningſmark*, a brave experienced Captain, Governour of the Town, and then returned to the *Hague* to prepare

prepare himſelf for ſome greater deſigns.

For after the States of the United Provinces had made a ſtricter alliance with the King of *Spain* and the Emperor, to defend themſelves mutually againſt *France* their common Enemy, by which they were obliged to aſſiſt one another conjointly with all their forces; after this triple alliance, I ſay, in conſequence of which, the Imperial Army conſiſting of about Twenty Thouſand Foot and Ten Thouſand Horſe was already on their March; the Prince of *Orange* to perform ſomething remarkable before the ſeaſon was over, cauſed his Army to advance to *Roſendael* in *Brabant*, and following it ſoon after himſelf, he joyn'd with the Count *de Monterey*, who without the leaſt difficulty yielded to him the preheminence and command of the whole Army. But finding that the Prince of *Conde* had changed his poſt upon the news of the two Armies being joyn'd, and that he had ſo well intrenched himſelf that it was impoſſible to attack him, he advanced higher, and joyn'd the Imperial Army commanded by *Montecuculi*, between *Andernach* and *Bon*. In his march he ſummoned *Rhinbeck* to ſurrender, which thro the perſwaſion of a Burgher, who encouraged the reſt to make reſiſtance, being refuſed, he commanded the Sieur *de Walkenburg* to take two Regiments of Dragoons, and two of Infantry, and to make an aſſault, which they did with that vigour, that the Souldiers entring the Town

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put all to the Sword, and hang'd up the Burgher who had ſo ill adviſed them as to make an oppoſition.

The Confederates being now joyn'd, it was reſolved to attack *Bonn*. The better to effect this the Marquis *d' Arſentar* was diſpatched to *Keſſenning* to take his quarters there, and on the next day *Montecuculi* lodged the Imperialiſts at *Goedesbourg*. His Highneſs went to poſt himſelf with all his forces at *Rynford*, and General *Spork*, who commanded the Imperial Cavalry, planted himſelf on the other ſide of the City, near *Weſterwaldt*.

Bonn is a conſiderable City, called by the *Romans*, *Julia Bonna*, ſcituate upon the *Rhine*, within four Leagues of *Colen*. As it was then in the hands of the Elector and the *French*, they had placed in it a Garriſon of two Thouſand men, under the command of *Lantſberghen*, and had provided it with all ammunitions of war, with Twenty four piece of Cannon planted upon the Walls and Ramparts. The Confederates not thinking themſelves ſufficiently paid for the loſs of *Maſtricht* by the retaking of *Naerden*, reſolved to render themſelves Maſters of *Bonn*. The Pr. of *Conde* durſt not hinder them in perſon, but ſent the Mareſchal *d' Humieres* with a body of five Thouſand Horſe to oppoſe them, and to endeavour to throw ſome relief into the Town in the beginning of the Siege. To put this in execution he advanced as far as *Birchem*, from whence he ſent a party of an Hundred Horſe,

Horſe, who pretending that they belonged to the Duke of *Lorrain*, paſſed through the midſt of the Imperialiſts, without being ſtopt by any of the Centinels, and ſo got ſafe into the City. But another Hundred hoping to meet the ſame ſucceſs, as they paſſed by his Highneſs's Quarters, found the Centinels not ſo credulous as their Brethren were, ſo they were all cut in pieces, or made Priſoners; which news coming to the ears of five Hundred more, who had hid themſelves in a neighbouring Wood upon the ſame deſign, they fled with the greateſt precipitation imaginable. At this time General *Spork* detached a body of five Thouſand Horſe to go and meet the *French*, which the *Mareſchal* being informed of, he ſounded a retreat, and went back to *Utrecht*.

On the other ſide, the Beſiegers having finiſhed their Batteries, and made their approaches, gave but little, or no reſt at all to the beſieged, and after they had made three Mines ready to ſpring, they prepared to give a general aſſault. Nevertheleſs the Generals of the Confederates being willing to ſpare their own People, and hoping to make themſelves Maſters of the place by gentler methods, ſent to ſummon the Governor afreſh, remonſtrating to him that he had no hopes of being relieved, that they were ready to ſpring three Mines; that to be farther ſatisfied of the truth of this matter he might if he ſo pleaſed, ſend one of his own men to behold them;

and

and that in caſe of longer reſiſtance they were reſolved to put all to the Sword, without giving quarter to any whom they found in arms. This meſſage ſo effectually frighted the beſieged, that after a few days ſiege they demanded Articles, and ſurrendred the ſame day upon the ordinary conditions, *viz.* to go out with Drums beating, Colours flying, without carrying any proviſions, or ammunition with them, except two pieces of Cannon. There went out of the Garriſon a Thouſand five Hundred men, the reſt being either ſlain or wounded, All the *Germans* who were in this number immediately deſerted, and liſted themſelves in the Emperour's ſervice.

The City being taken, his Highneſs retired to *Veſſeling*, and from thence marching lower with his Army, and that of the Imperialiſts (for he commanded both ever ſince the departure of *Montecuculi* for *Vienna*, till the arrival of the Duke *de Bournonville*) he took the two Caſtles of *Brevel* and *Sechuich*, the latter of which had a Garriſon of two Hundred *French* commanded by a *German*, who perceiving that the Soldiers, after they were ſummon'd to ſurrender, reſolved to hold it out to the laſt, bethought himſelf of a ſtratagem to make them alter their opinions; for having commanded the *French* to go down into the lower Court, under a pretence to defend it, when he ſaw them all there, he drew the Draw-bridge upon them, who finding

finding themſelves by this means expoſed to a much greater number, were forced to yield up the place.

This ſame Caſtle in the year 1642, had been beſieged by the entire army of the Duke *de Weimar*, and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, under the command of the Counts *de Guebriant* and *d' Eberſtein*, and for ſix weeks together was battered with extraordinary fury. But after all their efforts they were conſtrained to raiſe the Siege.

All this while the Mareſchal *de Turenne* kept himſelf at a diſtance, for altho he received the news that *Bonne* was beſieged by the Confederates, and had a mighty deſire to attempt the raiſing of the Siege, yet knowing that the Duke of *Lorrain* lay upon the banks of the *Moſelle* to obſerve him, he moved up and down in the Electorate of *Ments*; mightily complaining that he was no ſooner informed of the joyning of the Confederates.

The mighty multitudes of the *French* were by this time reduced to ſo inconſiderable a number, and all through their prodigal ill-managed effuſion of blood, that they were not in a condition to keep the field without draining their Garriſons. This neceſſity obliged them to abandon the greateſt part of their conqueſts in the Low Countries, and draw out their men from thence, rather than ſuffer ſo powerful an Army as that of the Confederates was, to retake without any

manner of reſiſtance the Cities upon the *Rhine*, the *Meuſe* and the *Moſelle*.

Woerden was the firſt place they quitted, as it was the firſt that ſuffered under their Tyranny, the Governor having received orders from the Duke of *Luxemburg* to demoliſh the Ramparts, and to carry away with him all the Ammunition and heavy Canonn: But as in the bodies of perſons poſſeſſed, the Devil before he departs, leaves terrible marks of his rage behind him; ſo after the ſame manner the Governor of this Town, before he left it, ſent for the Magiſtrates and demanded twenty Thouſand Livres of them to ſave themſelves from plunder and fire; alledging that he had orders from the King and Duke of *Luxemburg* to pillage and reduce the place to aſhes, unleſs they gave him the above-mentioned Summ. The Magiſtrates repaired to *Utrecht*, but notwithſtanding all the Remonſtrances and Submiſſions they made to the Duke of *Luxemburg*, were obliged to comply with what he demanded of them, nay and more than that, to ſave their Caſtle, their Gates, and their Fortifications, which otherwiſe they threatned to lay level with the ground, and were forced to leave Hoſtages till the ſumm was paid. The malice and perfidy of the *French* was ſuch, that they had min'd the Caſtle and one of the Baſtions, and had infallibly deſtroy'd them, if the *Swiſſers* that werein the place had not diſcovered their treacherous intention.

Harderwick

Harderwiek was intirely dismantled, yet for all that they had the good manners to demand twelve Thousand Livres of the Inhabitants, but the richest Burghers having long before quitted the Town, they were forced to go without it.

The Fort of *Crevecœur* was utterly demolish'd: nevertheless the *French* made an offer to save the Church and the Governor's House for the summ of three Thousand Pistols, to be paid by the Inhabitants of *Boisleduc*, but this proposal being rejected, they neither spared the House, nor the Church.

Bommel, a Fortress of great importance, upon the Fortifications of which place the King of *France* had expended the summ of Sixscore Thousand Livres, was deserted at the same time; the Inhabitants giving a dozen Hostages for the payment of two Thousand Crowns, to preserve their Houses from being pillaged.

Utrecht, where the *French* had always in Garrison between six and seven Thousand men at least, and which place consequently was a mighty expence to them, was likewise abandoned. Nevertheless this City was obliged to give Hostages for the payment of 100 Thousand Crowns. The *French* leaving it all on the same day, the Burgher-masters were absolved from the Oath they had taken against the re-establishment of the Pr. of *Orange*, and sent their Deputies to him to acknowledge him for their Stadt-holder,

in the name of all the Province, which change was very agreeable to the People.

Elburgh upon the South Sea, *Campen* on the *Overyſſel*, and *Hattem* were likewiſe quitted by the *French*, and *Steenwick* and *Weppel* by the *Munſterians*.

In conſideration of ſo unexpected a change, which was intirely owing to the prudent conduct and great courage of the Prince of *Orange*, the States confirmed him in the Office of Stadt-holder, to teſtify how ſenſible they were of the ſervices he had done the Republic; and not content with this, entailed this Dignity upon the Heirs of his body, born in lawful Wedlock in an inſtrument dated *Febr.* 2d. 1674. The ſame day the States of *Zealand* confer'd the ſame adminiſtration upon his Royal Highneſs, and declared him chief Nobleman of their Province.

It was high time now to deliver theſe States from thoſe confuſions and diſorders, which the *French* had occaſioned in the Government. And the Prince very well knowing that it was no leſs glorious for a good Governour to reform and correct what was amiſs at home, than to make Conqueſts abroad, went to *Utrecht* to ſettle the Government of that Province upon the antient Foot. To effect this, he conven'd immediately after his arrival an Aſſembly of the States, where it was reſolved that new members ſhould be choſe to compoſe the body of

of the Nobility and Magiſtracy; which was put in execution in the very ſame manner he had projected. For having given them to underſtand, that at the requeſt of ſeveral of the Burghers, he had drawn up a Scheme of certain Orders for the better government of the Province for the time to come; but yet wou'd by no means impoſe any thing upon them without the advice and conſent of thoſe that were preſent; at laſt, after a mature deliberation, they all unanimouſly ſubmitted to the Ordinances propoſed by his Highneſs, which were, That the Government of the Province ſhould be in the hands of three diſtinct Societies, as it anciently had been, *viz.* the Councellors elect, the body of the Nobility, and the Deputies of Towns: that the Councellors elect ſhould be continued three years and no longer; that after that time was expired, which they were to acquaint the Governour General with three months before, he ſhould have power to continue them, or elſe to make new alterations, as he ſhould ſee convenient; provided he nominated none but thoſe that were of the Reformed Religion, and that amongſt theſe Councellors Elect there were four Burghers and four Gentlemen; moreover, that the Governour General ſhould have the diſpoſal of the vacant places of the Provoſts, as alſo of the Revenues of the Vicaridges belonging to the Provoſts, Deans and Chapters of Monks, as

ſoon as they ſell, and employ this for the maintenance of poor Miniſters, and other pious uſes in the Province; that to avoid all diſputes relating to the Nobility, the Governour alone ſhould have the power, after the death of one or more of that body, to put in his or their place, ſuch Perſon or Perſons as he ſhould think fit, provided they made profeſſion of the Reformed Religion, having a due regard to their Age, Birth, Eſtates, and ſuch other circumſtances; that after the firſt nomination and election of a Governour General, all vacancies of Bailiffs of Towns, Preſidents, Advocates, and in ſhort of all civil and military Offices, ſhould be at his diſpoſal. After this a form of an Oath was agreed upon, which all that were preſent were to take without further ſcruple, and all others ſhould be obliged to do the ſame, according to their ſeveral functions. And when the following propoſition was made, whether it were adviſable to conſer the Charge of Governour General, Captain, and Admiral General of the Province upon his Highneſs and his heirs male lawfully begotten; they all *nemine contradicente* approv'd the motion, and ſo conferr'd that Dignity upon his Highneſs.

At the ſame time General *Rabenhaupt*, with the Militia of *Frizeland* and *Groningen*, reinforced with the Regiment of *Bumarnia*, took the field, and made himſelf maſter of *Northom*, which he fortified with ſixteen

Companies

Companies of Horſe, and ſix of Foot; and from thence advancing to *Tuvent*, took ſeveral other places of leſs importance, deſigning to chaſe all the *Munſterians* out of that part of the Country, and to that end marched as far as *Nienbuys*.

The Enemy was no ſooner informed of the General's march, but they inveſted *Northom* with five Regiments of Horſe, three Companies of Dragoons, and three hundred Foot, commanded by General *Nagel*, and beat the advanced Guards back into the Town. General *Rabenhaupt* had no ſooner received intelligence of this, but he came back the ſame way to relieve the place; which he performed ſo happily, that the Enemy was obliged to betake themſelves to flight, after they had loſt a hundred and ſeventy of their men; of which number ſix-ſcore were ſlain upon the place, and the reſt made priſoners. The next day he return'd to *Nienbuys*, and being reſolved to make ſhort work on't, gave orders to five Regiments to make an Aſſault in five ſeveral places all at the ſame time; which they executed with that bravery, that after a quarter of an hours reſiſtance, the enemy was forced to retire into the Caſtle, which was encompaſſed but with one ſingle Rampart, and defended with no more than two pieces of Cannon. The Beſiegers, who puſhed the point home, were now juſt ready to enter the Caſtle, when the enemy begged

quarter, which was granted them. The Garriſon conſiſted of three hundred Foot, thirteen Officers, and two hundred and ſeventy Horſe and Dragoons, with fifteen Officers. General *Rabenhaupt* after ſo happy a ſucceſs put his ſmall body of an Army into Winter quarters, which news being brought to *Nagel*, he came back again to *Nyenbuys*, and retook it for the Biſhop of *Munſter*.

But the Biſhop, either dreading theſe uncertain chances of War, or rather fearing the approach of the *Imperialiſts*, made his peace with the Emperour. Which ſo mightily alarm'd the *French*, who were ſtill in poſſeſſion of their Frontier Towns in the Low-Countries, that the Marqueſs *de Bellefonds*, who ſucceeded the Mareſchal *d' Humieres* in the Government of the Conquer'd Provinces, reſolved to abandon the reſt, pretending he had occaſion for the men to preſerve thoſe Conqueſts they had made upon the *Rhine*. Beſides, being informed that the Prince of *Orange* deſigned to march into *Brabant* with thirty Thouſand men, there to joyn the *Spaniſh* Army that was compoſed of twenty Thouſand, inſtead of fortifying the places of his Government, he began to demoliſh them. *Thiel* compounded for Twenty two Thouſand Florins, to preſerve themſelves from fire and plunder, which they threatned them with, and to ſave their Fortifications. The Town of *Zutphen* promiſed Seventy Thouſand, and gave Hoſtages for the

the ſecurity of payment. *Arnheim* paid Twenty ſix Thouſand Florins, and four Thouſand Sacks of Corn and Meal, which the Magiſtrates of the Town engaged to ſee carried to *Grave*. *Deventer* paid ſix Thouſand Rixdollars to the Biſhop of *Munſter*. Thus the whole Province of *Overyſſel* regained its ancient liberty, and returned to its natural and lawful Soveraigns. After which his Highneſs ſent Commiſſioners thither to make ſome neceſſary alterations, and regulate affairs, till he had an opportunity to come himſelf in perſon and put a full concluſion to them.

The King of *France* ſeem'd to be exceedingly diſpleaſed with the conduct of the Marquis *de Bellefonds* ſo that he baniſhed him to *Bourges*, with a prohibition to come near the Court, altho all the world knew this was only a meer pretence to conceal his preſent neceſſities, and that he was forced to exhauſt his Garriſons in the Low-Countries to reinforce his Army which he had deſigned for the Conqueſt of the *Franche-Comte*. But the honour of all theſe deſertions was juſtly attributed to the Prince of *Orange*; for he, like another *Scipio*, carrying the war into the Enemy's Territories, in leſs than two years, forced all theſe *French Hannibals* to quit his own Country, and ſeek their fortune elſewhere.

In the mean time the King of *France*, endeavouring, like the Sea, to gain in one place what he had loſt in another, entred the

Franche-

Franche Comte with a prodigious Army, which joyning with another that was commanded by the Prince of *Conde*, became ſo formidable, that in a ſhort time he made himſelf Maſter of *Beſançon*, *Dole*, *Salins*, and in ſhort of the whole Province. While theſe two Armies were thus joyn'd, the Prince of *Orange* repaired to his Army at *Berghen op Zoom*, from whence he marched to *Malines*, and kept himſelf on his guard in *Brabant*, during all the time the *French* King was in the Neighbourhood: but this Monarch being return'd to *Paris* after his new Conqueſt, where he loſt both abundance of brave Officers, and of his beſt Souldiers, the *Imperialiſts* threw themſelves into *Namur*, took the Caſtle, and *Dinant*, and the paſſage of the *Meuſe* being by this means opened. they went to joyn the Army of the Confederates towards the end of *July*. The three Generals after ſome conference, order'd that the Count *de Souches* ſhould lead the Van, his Highneſs command the Main Body, and the Count *de Montery* the Rear. In this order the Confederates prepared to attack the Prince of *Condè*, who with an Army of Fifty Thouſand men was encamped on the other ſide the River *Pieton*, to prevent the deſigns of the Enemy. The Confederates, who had an Army of Sixty Thouſand men, reſolved to ſet upon the Prince and give him battle. With this proſpect they marched ſtrait upon him, having abundance of all ſorts of proviſions,

viſions, which came daily out of *Brabant*.

With this reſolution the Confederate Army arrived at *Nivelle* by the beginning of *Auguſt*, where they incamped for ſome days. But becauſe they ſaw the Prince of *Conde* was by no means diſpoſed to quit his poſt, but on the other hand was ſtill fortifying himſelf more and more within his Trenches, the Confederates judged it expedient to approach nearer to him, to ſee if he would not be willing to hazard a battle in open field. Being therefore advanced within five or ſix mile of the *French* Camp, they did all that in them lay to make him leave his ſtrong ſcituation, but 'twas to no purpoſe; for the Prince (whether he had received orders from the King, or this was his own proper ſenſe of the affair) would by no means quit it. And now the Confederate Army finding that all their efforts were in vain, reſolved to attack ſome important place, not doubting but the Prince would leave his poſt to come and relieve it, and ſo they ſhould bring their deſigns about.

This reſolution being taken, the Prince of *Orange* decamped from *Senef* and marched ſtrait on the ſide of *Bins*. The *Imperialiſts* had the Vanguard, the *Hollanders* the Main Body, and the *Spaniards* the Rear; and becauſe the paſſage was narrow, the Cavalry marched on the left, the Infantry in the midſt, and the Artillery with all the baggage on the left alſo; and to ſecure their march the Prince

de

de Vaudemont ſtill kept behind, with four Thouſand Horſe and ſome Dragoons.

The Prince of *Conde* being informed of their March, and knowing perfectly well the difficulty of the ways through which the Confederates were to paſs, took care to range his Army in order. However not thinking it ſafe for him to engage the whole Army of the Confederates, he ſuffer'd the Vanguard with a conſiderable part of their Main Body to paſs ſome leagues before, and when he ſaw they were too far advanced to return ſoon enough, he believed he might now fall upon the Rear. Thus the Prince came out of his Trenches, and attack'd *Vaudemont*'s Horſe, who ſeeing himſelf in a Country where the Horſe could do no great ſervice by reaſon of the Hedges and Ditches, ſent preſently to the Prince of *Orange* for two Battalions of his beſt Foot, while he with his Horſe kept the Enemy in play. His Highneſs ſent him three under the command of young Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, who as ſoon as they came up, were placed on the other ſide of *Senef*, all before the Horſe in a four ſquare body. And now the whole Army of the Prince of *Conde* being come out of their Trenches, 'twas judged convenient to ſend for the Troops that were on the other ſide of the River, that runs by *Senef*, and then they placed the three Battalions that before were poſted in the Wood, directly againſt the Bridge of *Senef*, over which the

French

French were to paſs. They were no ſooner got thither, but the *French* attack'd 'em all at once, Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons. Tho they began this attack with wonderful vigor, yet they were not able to force the Enemy from his Poſt, ſo that they were forced to draw off, and make a Bridge over the River ſomewhat higher. Having by this means joyn'd all their forces together, the Confederate Horſe ranged themſelves behind the Infantry, but ſo that they might come upon occaſion to their relief. In the mean time the Foot fired ſo warmly upon the *French* that paſſed the River, that abundance of them were killed; but the Confederates being unhappily ſtraitned for want of ground, and the *French* ſetting upon them as they came out of the Wood, on all ſides, their Foot was obliged to retreat, being overwhelmed by the exceſſive number of their Enemies, which was the reaſon that they loſt ſeveral of their principal Officers. Young Prince *Maurice* who commanded the Brigade was made a Priſoner, with ſeveral Officers more, and Coll. *Macovits* was killed.

As ſoon as the Infantry of the Confederates was retired, the *French* fell with great vigour upon the Horſe commanded by the Prince *de Vaudemont*; and the Prince of *Conde* began to range his Army in form of battel, commanding his Foot to march ſecretly under the covert of the Hedges and Buſhes. The Confederate Horſe had orders to charge them, and as they were going to do it, found

found the way was ſo hollow between the Enemy and them, that they were obliged to turn about to the right, and joyn the reſt of the Army, leſt the Enemy perceiving their retreat, ſhould charge them in the Flank. The *French* obſerving this, turn'd to the left, and made ſo much haſt to charge this body of Horſe, that Prince *Vaudemont* had only time enough to range his three Battalions, to endeavour to make head againſt the Enemy. This firſt onſet proved unlucky to the Confederates, for the three Commanders in chief of this Brigade were taken Priſoners, with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, as the Duke of *Holſtein*, the Prince *de Solmes*, and Monſieur *de Langerac*, and many more were there ſlain. Whatever care was taken to make theſe four Battalions rally again it could never be effected, for away they ran, without making the leaſt diſcharge upon the Enemy. Prince *Vaudemont* gave convincing proofs of an extraordinary valour, but all his efforts were to no purpoſe. The Prince of *Orange* likewiſe diſcovered an undaunted bravery, behaving himſelf in all reſpects like an Old experienced General, for he got before theſe affrighted Troops with his Sword in his hand, and endeavoured by all ſorts of perſwaſions, and by his own example, to encourage them to renew the fight, expoſing himſelf frequently to the danger of being killed, or made a Priſoner, but he was not able to ſtop them, till they

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met a body of *Spaniſh* Horſe poſted at the bottom of a little Hill, between them, and the Village of *Fay*. Another Party of theſe Runaways, joyn'd themſelves to ſixteen Battalions commanded by the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*, who marched at the head of his Troops to oppoſe the *French* who purſued them, and did every thing that could be expected from a perſon of his valour and conduct, in the miſerable condition that things were then in. The reſt of the Confederates rallied togather with a body of Foot, poſted likewiſe at the Foot of the ſame Hill.

On the other ſide the Prince of *Conde*, who had advanced ſo far in purſuing the fugitives, fell with that fury upon the *Spaniſh* Horſe, and the Foot whom he chaſed, that the Marquis *d' Aſſentar* was forced to ſend for four other Regiments from the Foot of the Hill, to reinforce his Cavalry. Which the Prince of *Conde* obſerving, he ordered five or ſix Battalions to advance immediately, with a Brigade of Horſe, and dividing his Troops on the right and the left, he charged the Cavalry of the Confederates in the Front, and put them in diſorder. The Marqueſs did all he could, by his own example, to rally his men, and begin the Battel afreſh, till at laſt, being wounded in ſeven places, he was killed at the head of his own Troops. The Cavalry being thus in diſorder, he attempted to break his way through four Battalions of Foot that were come to their relief,

and

and put them in great confuſion, notwithſtanding the conduct of the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa* and Prince *Vaudemont*, who uſed all the means imaginable to make them rally. They likewiſe diſordered the reſt of the Infantry that were poſted at the bottom of the Hill, altho Count *Waldeck* did his beſt to ſtop their flight; but ſeeing it was time thrown away, he charged the victorious Enemy in the Flank with a freſh body of Horſe, that had joined him a little before. And certainly there was all the reaſon in the world to expect a good effect of this onſet, under the conduct of ſo courageous and experienc'd a Commander, if he had been but ſeconded: but as he was overpower'd by great numbers of the Enemy, he withdrew from the heat of the Action, after he had ſlain two of the Enemy, who had particularly ſet upon him, and after he had rallied the reſt of his Troops, altho he was all over bloody with three wounds he had received.

In the heat of this Combat, ſome Battalions of the Enemy had made themſelves Maſters of the Baggage belonging to the *Dutch*, and had already pillaged part of it. For the Leaders, inſtead of fortifying and barricadoing themſelves with their Waggons, cut the harneſs of the Horſes, and fled away without ever looking behind them, ſome towards *Bruſſels*, and ſome to other places, where they gave out that all was loſt.

It must be confessed, that the Prince of *Conde* had carried away all the advantages of victory in this Fight, had he given over here, but his natural impetuosity and ambition spurr'd him on to gain all or nothing, which in the end proved fatal to him.

For after he had ranged his *Guards du Corps*, Cuirassiers, and the rest of the Army that stay'd behind in battel array, he advanced towards the main body of the Confederates, commanded by the Prince of *Orange*, Prince *Maurice*, the *Rhingrave*, and Major General *Vane*. At the same time General *Souches* who led the Vanguard, and who was advanced some hours before the rest of the Army, having received advice of what had passed, made all the haste he could to joyn the main Body: which he did at one a Clock in the Afternoon: By which time his Highness had advantageously bestowed the Imperialists, and the *Spaniards* on the left wing, and his own on the right. And now the Fight was renewed more furiously than ever.

The Duke of *Luxemburgh* commanded the right wing of the *French*, and the Duke of *Nouailles* the left: for the Marquess *de Rochefort*, the Chevalier *de Tourilles*, and the Count *de Montal*, were all three wounded. The first onset of the *French* was by far the most vehement that had been seen during the course of this war. Honour, Hatred, Revenge, Hope, and Despair, animated the courag of the

two Parties. Hope of Victory, which as yet had declared her ſelf in favour of neither ſide, made them reſolve to vanquiſh or dye. The Prince of *Orange* ſhow'd himſelf every where, ſparing nothing upon this occaſion that might facilitate the victory: ſometimes he threw himſelf into the midſt of his Enemies to the apparent hazard of his life, and the Souldiers who being encouraged by his example ſtrove to out-do one another, ſuſtained the fury of the Enemy with a bravery greater than could be expected from them. Having thus fruſtrated the hopes of the Prince of *Conde*, he endeavoured to wheel about to the left. But Monſieur *de Farjaux* Major General of the *Dutch* Army, being ſent with ſome Battalions, and ſeconded by the Count *de Chavagnac*, (who commanded a Squadron of *Imperial* Horſe) to prevent this deſign, oppoſed the *French* with ſo much gallantry, that they were forced to retire: After this the Count ſent for four pieces of Cannon, with which he gauled the Enemy ſo advantageouſly, that Count *Souches* with his Forlorn Hope broke into the ſtrongeſt quarter of the Enemy, and gave proofs of an extraordinary courage, according to his cuſtom upon ſuch occaſions. Nor did the Prince of *Lorrain* ſit idle, but was ſeen to fight ſeveral times at the head of the firſt ranks, altho he loſt ſo much blood, that at laſt he was obliged to withdraw from the battel. Prince *Pio* who lay with his Brigade near

near *Senef*, accompanied by the Marqueſs *de Grana*, and Count *Staremberg*, after he had ſignalized himſelf by a Thouſand noble actions, was wounded in the thigh by a Muſquet-ſhot. The Marqueſs *de Grana*, and the Sons of Count *Souches* behaved themſelves ſo valiantly at the head of their Squadrons, that the *French Swiſſers* were not able to gain one inch of ground upon them, which did not a little contribute to the gaining of the battel for the Confederates.

In the mean time the Prince of *Conde* charged the right wing of the Confederates, with his Cuiraſſiers, and the King's Houſhold, but without effect: only about ſeven in the afternoon he broke two Battalions that were poſted in a meadow at a ſmall diſtance from thence. But Prince *Maurice* here performed a ſignal piece of ſervice to the States, in ſtopping the Career of the Enemy, and preventing the great diſorder on that ſide with no leſs conduct than courage. The *Rhingrave* behaved himſelf with great bravery, and we may truly ſay, that his valor and prudence did not inconſiderably promote the good ſucceſs of this battel. He was nevertheleſs conſtrained to leave the field by reaſon of a wound he had received. Major General *Vane*, and the Sieur *de Villaumaire* after having given remarkable teſtimonies of their valour, were mortally wounded, and died of their wounds.

The two Armies fought in this manner till night with unexpreſſible fury on both ſides, tho the ground was covered with the dead and wounded; while the Combatants covered with blood and ſweat encouraged one another by ſo terrible a ſpectacle. One might have ſeen whole Battalions of one and t'other ſide ſometimes give ground, and then immediately rally by the good conduct of their reſpective Commanders, amongſt whom the Prince of *Orange* was chief, who was all along to be ſeen in the heat of the battle, encouraging his men by his own example. He had near him the young Prince of *Frizeland*, who was not above twenty years old, and always engaged where the Enemies ſtood thickeſt, and doing all that could be expected from ſo valiant and generous a Prince.

Thus the firſt heat and fire of the *French*, which threatned to devour every thing that ſtood in its way, began to ſlacken about ten at night. The Infantry, great part of which they loſt, kept off at ſome diſtance, in ſpight of all the Prince of *Conde* could do to bring them back, ſo that the Prince fearing a greater misfortune, ordered his Horſe to retreat, leaving but a few Squadrons behind to favor their retreat, and theſe he commanded to move off as ſoon as the reſt of his Army was ſafe; leaving the Victory and the Field of battle to the Prince of *Orange*, who two hours after the retreat of the *French* made his

Army

Army draw off, and put them into Winter Quarters. Nevertheleſs he left Monſieur *de Farjaux* all night in the Field to obſerve the motion of the Enemy, who tho they could not well digeſt the rude treatment they received the day before, durſt attempt nothing: the Prince of *Conde* having only left ſome Dragoons in his old Quarters, and got above three hours march before, leſt the Confederates ſhould purſue him.

This was the iſſue of this bloody battel, wherein the Confederates were beat at firſt, altho they got the victory at laſt. For on the Enemies ſide there were ſeven thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, without reckoning the wounded, whom the Prince of *Conde* left in the neighbouring villages, to the number of more than fifteen hundred On the ſide of the Confederates, the whole liſt of thoſe that were ſlain, wounded, made Priſoners and deſerted, did not amount in all to above ſix Thouſand five Hundred, beſides that abundance of their men after they had been diſperſed on one ſide and t'other in the hurry of the Engagement returned to their Colours. 'Tis commonly reported that a Letter of the Prince of *Conde* to the King of *France* was intercepted, wherein he acquaints him, that after he had made a general review of his Army, he found it in a very deplorable condition, that he had loſt the flower of his Infantry, and the better part of his Horſe, and in fine did not look upon himſelf to be

ſtrong enough to hazard a ſecond battel. In effect, beſides three Regiments, Seven Hundred *Swiſſers* of the Guards, and the *Swiſs* Regiment of *Molandin* were intirely defeated. An infinite number of Officers of note were ſlain, amongſt whom were the Marqueſs *de Chanvalon*, *de Clemerant*, *de Bourbon*, and *d' Iliers*; three Counts, two Corners of the King's Guards, more than Forty Officers of the Guards *du Corps*, Forty three Officers of the King's Regiment, Fourſcore Officers of the Queen's Guards, Nine Collonels, Eight Lieutenant Collonels and Majors, and a Hundred and Sixty five Captains, without reckoning the ſubaltern Officers. So that the Prince of *Conde* did not without reaſon complain that he had loſt abundance of brave Officers in this bloody diſpute; and a certain truth it is, that if he had not had the advantage in the beginning of the Fight his Army had been entirely defeated. Amongſt ſeveral other Standards a white one was carried to *Bruſſels*, and hung up with a great deal of ſolemnity in the Church belonging to the *Carmelites*. This Standard was embroider'd with Gold and Silver, bearing a Sun in the Zodiac with theſe proud words: *Nihil obſtabit eunti, Nothing ſhall ſtop my Courſe.*

The day after the battel his Highneſs marched with the whole Army by the way of *Mons*, and put them in quarters at *S. Guillain*, where he received five Regiments of new Recruits: and the *Imperialiſts* retired

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to *Queverain*, where they ſtayed without doing any conſiderable action, till the eleventh or twelfth of *September*.

In the mean time General *Rabenhaupt* undertook the Siege of *Grave*, which was one of the moſt memorable Sieges that had happened for a long time, as well for the ſcituation of the place, the ſtrength of the Garriſon, the great abundance of Ammunition and Proviſions, as for the furious attacks and aſſaults of the Beſiegers, and the vigorous reſiſtance of the Beſieged. And that which renders it ſtill more famous, is, that it could never be ended till the arrival of the Prince of *Orange*, who ſoon determined it.

The Garriſon conſiſted of Fourſcore and eleven Companies of Foot, who made in all four Thouſand men, and of Nine Troops of Horſe. The Sieur *de S. Louis*, an old experienced Captain commanded the Cavalry, and the Marqueſs *de Chamilly*, a valiant and expert Commander was Governor of the Town; where were four Hundred and fifty pieces of Cannon, a Hundred of which were mounted upon the Ramparts, beſides an infinite quantity of Powder, Corn, Granadoes, and all ſorts of Proviſions; for here the *French* had laid up all that they carried away from thoſe places they firſt conquered, and afterwards abandoned.

General *Rabenhaupt* laid Siege to this place, which extremely incommoded all the Neighborhood, with Twenty Regiments of Foot,

and ſome Horſe, which were ſoon after reinforced with two Regiments of Foot, and two Hundred Horſe, commanded by Don *John de Pimentel*, and a Regiment of Foot of the Prince of *Courland*, and two Regiments of Horſe of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, under the command of General *Spaen*. Coll. *Hundebeck* poſted himſelf behind the great Dike on that ſide which lay nigheſt the *Velp*; Coll. *Golſtein* on the ſide towards *Overyſſel*. The *Brandenburg* Cavalry poſted themſelves higher towards the *Eſt*, to hinder any relief from coming into the Town. And the General himſelf approached near the Caſtle *de Vegeſak*. The place being thus environ'd on all ſides, the Siege was puſhed forward with as much violence on the ſide of the Beſiegers, as it was vigorouſly defended by the Beſieged.

In the mean time his Highneſs and the *Imperialiſts* that were quarter'd upon the Frontiers of *Henault*, having recovered the diſorder of the laſt battel, were thinking how to perform ſome remarkable action. Upon this conſideration, as ſoon as the Grand Convoy was arrived from *Bruſſels* with the *Spaniſh* Army, conſiſting of eight Thouſand Foot, without reckoning the Horſe and Dragoons, the Prince of *Orange* decamped with the whole Army on the 12th of *September*, aud paſſed the River *Hayne* near *Tournay* and *Aeth*, and marched from thence to *Oudenarde*. In the interim two Regiments of Foot, and

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two Thouſand five Hundred Horſe near *Ghent*, were ſent to break the Bridges of *Deinſe* and *Harlebeke* upon the River *Ley*, with orders after that to rejoyn the Army. That Evening the ſame Regiments brought abundance of Barges laden with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions, and five Hundred Pioneers, who were ordered to advance by the way of *Oudenarde*, and were followed by a body of two Thouſand five Hundred Horſe, that poſted themſelves that evening before the Town, and ſhut up all the paſſages leading to the Garriſon on that ſide. The Prince of *Orange*, and the Count *de Souches* arrived at the ſame time, and took each of them their quarters, the Prince in the Abby of *Ename*, and the Count on the other ſide the River at *Leupegem* and *Elare*: and the *Spaniards* commanded by the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*, poſted themſelves at *Beverem* and *Moregem*. There were in the Town four Hundred *Germans*, ſix Thouſand *Swiſſers*, a Thouſand *French*, and four Hundred Horſe commanded by the Sieur *de Roſquaire*. The Confederates having finiſhed all their Works, made themſelves Maſters of the Counterſcarp, when the Prince of *Conde*, having decamped from before *Beaumont*, began to approach with his whole Army, which conſiſted of forty Thouſand men, and reſolved to give battel to the Confederates, in caſe he could not otherwiſe relieve the place. It was therefore his Highneſs's advice to get all things in readineſs,

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and meet the Enemy that was fatigued and ſpent with ſo tedious a March. But this reſolution had no effect, becauſe Count *Souches* was not to be found all that day, and thus the Army was conſtrained to keep within their Trenches. In the mean time the *French* ſtill advanced on that ſide where the *Imperialiſts* lay poſted, but Count *Souches*, inſtead of ranging his men in Battel, quitted his poſt, and paſſed the River in ſo much haſte that he left ſome pieces of Cannon behind him, which his Highneſs had ſent him, and cou'd not be recover'd without extream danger. By this means the Prince of *Conde* having an open paſſage, entred the Town with part of his Army, and he had certainly gained that Advantage as to cut off all manner of Communication between the Confederates, had it not been for a great Fog that aroſe on the ſudden, and prevented his deſign.

The Prince of *Orange* conſidering the preſent ſtate of his affairs, was of opinion that it was the beſt way to draw off; and ſo followed after the *Imperialiſts* and the *Spaniards*, whom he joyn'd within a league of *Oudenard*, but finding that by reaſon of the great opiniatrete of the former, he ſhould be able to effect nothing here, he was reſolved to return the ſame way to *Grave*, where his preſence was ſo neceſſary to carry on the Siege, leaving Count *Waldeck* to command the Army in his abſence. The Prince arri-

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ved befor this place on the ninth of *October* with ſixty Troops of Horſe, and tho the Beſieged, who were now reduced to great extremities, defended themſelves with great vigour and reſolution till the 25th of the ſame month, yet the Marqueſs *de Chamilly* ſeeing it was impoſſible to hold out againſt a general aſſault, becauſe of the great breaches in the works, demanded a ceſſation of Arms for three or four hours, and after Hoſtages on both ſides, the City ſurrendred on very honourable conditions; and thus ended this Campaign.

The year 1675 began with the Addreſſes of the Burghers, wherein they thanked his Highneſs for the mighty ſervices he had done them, in delivering them from the calamities and miſeries they had ſuffered under the tyranny of a foreign Enemy. In conſideration of which they offer'd him the Soveraignty of the Dutchy of *Gueldres*, and Earldom of *Zutphen*, with the Titles of Duke of *Gueldres*, and Count of *Zutphen*. But the Prince reflecting with himſelf, that the accepting of this offer would give matter of jealouſy to ſome perſons, and give others occaſion to infer that he only aimed at his own Grandeur in this war: to convince the world of the ſincerity of his intentions, he judged it the beſt way to refuſe theſe Honours, but at the ſame time did not refuſe the offer they made him of being hereditary Governour of that Province. This he readily accepted, and

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after he had taken the Oaths, reformed ſeveral abuſes that had got footing during the Enemy's uſurpation there. And now by reaſon of the continual alarms the People were in, upon the occaſion of the *French* King's reſolutions, who was to open the Campaign himſelf in Perſon, in the beginning of the Spring, he continually applied his thoughts upon the war, and for that end always aſſiſted at thoſe Conferences, where they debated upon their military affairs. He was at *Cleve* to confer with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who entertained him with great magnificence; and ſoon after his arrival at the *Hague*, fell ill of the Small-pox, which news cauſed ſo much the greater conſternation in the United Provinces, becauſe that diſeaſe had been fatal to his Family, in the Perſon of his Father, his Mother, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*; but by the care and prudence of an able Phyſician, and by the aſſiſtance of ſome remedies which the Elector of *Brandenburgh* ſent him, he recovered his health, to the univerſal joy not only of *Holland*, but all the Confederates.

No ſooner was he perfectly recovered, but he repaired to the general rendezvous at *Roſendael*; for the King of *France* being now upon his march in *Brabant*, it was neceſſary for the Prince to obſerve his motions; and ſo much the more, becauſe *Limburg*, which was beſieged by the Marquis *de Rochefort*, demanded a ſpeedy relief. For this reaſon, his

his Highneſs parting with his Army from *Duffel*, joyn'd the Dukes of *Lunenburg* and *Lorrain* at *Gangelt*, with a reſolution to raiſe the Siege. And in all probability it had come to a Battel between the *French* King and the Prince, ſince the King, who was then at *Maeſtricht*, having received advice of the Prince's march, had repaſſed the *Meuſe* at *Viſet*, to oppoſe his deſign, but the City not being any longer able to ſuſtain the great numbers of their Enemies, ſurrendred ſooner than was expected.

After the taking of *Limbug*, the King of *France* encamped near *Tillemont*, ravaging all the Country round about *Louvain*, *Bruſſels*, and *Malines*. He had a mighty deſire to make himſelf maſter of *Louvain*, but his Highneſs and the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa* watched him all along ſo narrowly, that he durſt not undertake it; ſo that finding he was able to do no more, content with having gained *Limburg*, he returned to *Paris*, leaving the Prince of *Conde* to obſerve the Prince of *Orange*.

And to ſay the truth, both theſe wary Generals watched one another ſo carefully, that they cou'd not gain the leaſt advantage one over the other. But the Prince of *Conde* was ſoon commanded to go into *Alſatia*, after the death of the Mareſchal *de Turenne*. Our Prince therefore had now to do with a new General, the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, but who in prudence and conduct was by no means

means inferiour to his great Predeceſſor. His Highneſs had nevertheleſs this advantage over him, that he hindred him from ravaging the territory of *Triers*; ſo that after the fatal and entire routing of Monſieur *de Crequi*, that City fell into the hands of the *Imperialiſts*. *France* having thus ſuſtained two mighty loſſes, in the death of *Turenne*, and the Defeat of *Crequi*, the D. of *Luxemburg*, rather than run the hazard of receiving a third, which perhaps might have proved mortal, ſuffer'd the Prince of *Orange* to take *Bins* before his face, when there were 350 men in Garriſon, and great ſtore of Proviſions. His Highneſs ordered all its Fortifications to be demoliſhed, to render it unſerviceable to the Enemy, and finding the ſeaſon now well advanced, diſperſed his Army and came back to the *Hague*.

The calamities of war, which had for ſome years afflicted and depopulated the greateſt part of *Europe*, were ſo extremely great and deplorable, that ſeveral Princes moved with compaſſion, did deliberate of the moſt proper means to ſtop the progreſs of thoſe miſeries, under which the people languiſhed. Tho this deſign was ſo highly advantageous to *Chriſtendom* in general, yet it did but ſlowly advance, till at laſt the K. of *Great Britain*, having concluded a peace with *Holland*, reſolved to offer his Mediatorſhip to procure an univerſal peace amongſt all the Chriſtian Princes, which having at laſt

laſt been ſubmitted to, the City of *Nimeguen* was choſen for the place of Treaty, where all the Plenipotentiaries met towards the beginning of the year 1676.

This hindred neither party from making as mighty preparations to renew the War in the Spring, as if there were not the leaſt thoughts of a Peace: So that during the winter his Highneſs was ſufficiently employed to get his Army ready againſt the opening of the Campaign, for it was an eaſy matter to foreſee that there would be occaſion for very conſiderable forces to oppoſe the common Enemy as ſoon as the ſeaſon was approached. The *French* on their part began before the midſt of *April* to make a review of ſeveral of their Troops under Mareſchal *de Crequi*, near *Charleville*: and Mareſchal *d' Humieres* was in the Field with a body of fifteen Thouſand men, near *Courtray*, putting all the Country to contribution, becauſe the *Spaniards* were not ſtrong enough to reſiſt them.

Before the Prince of *Orange* could come and join the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*, which he did at *Cambron*, on the 26th of *April*, the Mareſchal *de Crequi* had blocked up *Conde* with an Army of ſixteen Thouſand men. Upon the receit of this news the King of *France* parted immediately from *Paris*, and was ſoon after followed by the Duke of *Orleance*, who brought with him a reinforcement of ten Thouſand men. The place was

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ſo furiouſly attack'd and batter'd on all ſides, that unable to hold out any longer, they were conſtrained to ſurrender at diſcretion, altho the Prince of *Orange* was advanced as far as *Granville* to relieve it. The King of *France* having given orders to repair the Fortifications of *Conde*, and to place a Garriſon of 3000 men in the Town, commanded the Duke of *Orleance* to beſiege *Buchain*. This was a ſmall Town, but exceeding ſtrong, ſcituate between *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*, and defended the communication between thoſe two places; for this reaſon it had a good Garriſon, under the command of a Governor, who had the reputation of a brave and prudent Captain. But the Duke with ſuch an Army did not find the Siege to be a work of great difficulty, and ſo much the leſs; becauſe the King of *France*, who commanded the Army in perſon, was not far from him; and all this while kept the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Army in breath. The Prince who was now encamped in view of the Enemy, near *Valentiennes*, and was reſolved to attack him the day following in caſe *Bouchain* had not been taken, would not quit his Poſt till the *French* King had decamped firſt, and having ſent a conſiderable number of Horſe and Foot to ſeize all the paſſes and bridges upon the River *Dender*; hinder'd him from ravaging the Country of *Aloſt*. About the beginning of *June* the King returned to *Paris*, and gave the command

mand of his Army in the *Spaniſh Netherlands* to Mareſchal *de Schomberg*; and the Prince of *Orange* encamped before *Maeſtricht*. On the other ſide the Mareſchal to make a powerful diverſion, ſent *Humieres* with 15000 men to beſiege *Air*, a place of prodigious ſtrength, for it is encompaſſed with a deep Moraſs, and excellent Fortifications on three ſides, ſo that it can be entred only at one way, which was defended by a Fort called S^t. *Francis*, having five Baſtions, two Half-Moons and a very deep Ditch. Nevertheleſs all this did not hinder him from making himſelf ſoon Maſter of the Fort, the Governour not having men enough to oppoſe the great numbers of the *French*: who threw ſuch a prodigious quantity of Bombs and Granadoes into the place, that moſt of the houſes were afire. So that the Burghers having without the Governours privity demanded to capitulate, he was obliged to ſurrender the Town, which nevertheleſs he did on very honourable conditions, that were eaſily agreed to by the *French*, becauſe they were informed that the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa* was on his way to attempt to raiſe the Siege.

All this while the Prince of *Orange* never ſtirr'd from before *Maeſtricht*, which he had inveſted with his own Army, and the Troops of the Confederates, to each of whom he aſſigned their proper quarter. Amongſt the reſt of theſe Troops, the *Engliſh*, under Col.

Fenwick, Col. *Widdrington*, and Col. *Aſhley*, to the number of two thouſand ſix hundred men, without reckoning the Volunteers and Reformades, preſented a Requeſt to his Highneſs, wherein they petition'd him to aſſign them a particular quarter, and that they might be commanded ſeparately, that ſo if they behaved themſelves like valiant men, they might have all the honour, and if otherwiſe, all the ſhame to themſelves, it not being reaſonable that they ſhould ſuffer for the faults of other men. This the Prince readily granted, and gave them a ſeparate poſt, over againſt his own Regiment of Guards, under the Command of Col. *Fenwick*, the eldeſt Collonel of the three; and they were as good as their word, as they really made it appear by their deſperate attacques, where they ſignalized themſelves by their extraordinary valour, as long as the Siege laſted.

And in truth never was Siege carried on with greater vigour and reſolution than this was; the Prince continually encouraging the Souldiers with his preſence, till he received a ſlight hurt in his arm by a Muſquet-ſhot; but two things hinderd them from taking the Town which might otherwiſe have fallen into their hands. Firſt, the River was ſo low that the Prince was forced to ſtay ſome days till his Cannon came from *Ruremond*, for want of water. In the ſecond place, the forces he expected from the Biſhop of *Munſter* and the Dukes of *Lunenburg* came

came not to his relief. On the other ſide, *Schomberg* having received expreſs orders to ſuccour the Town, and for that purpoſe having marched as far as *Tongres*, his Highneſs ſummoned a Council of War to conſider what was to be done in this conjuncture; where, after they had reflected upon the preſent condition of the Army, which was extremely leſſen'd and fatigued, and found it was impoſſible to ſhut up the paſſes and avenues to the City on the ſide of *Wick*, and that the *French* would infallibly throw ſome relief into it, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to the contrary: In ſhort, after they ſaw their Horſe cou'd not ſubſiſt any longer in the Trenches for want of forrage, it was unanimouſly reſolved to raiſe the Siege. So the Prince commanded the Horſe to join Count *Waldeck*, and ſent the Artillery, Ammunition and Proviſions, with the ſick and wounded to *Ruremond* by water, keeping his Foot in a poſture of fighting till the Veſſels were out of all danger. Soon after this, judging the Campaign was ended for this year, he left his Army under the Command of Count *Waldeck*, and returned to *Holland* to aſſiſt at the General Aſſembly of the States. He gave them an account of the laſt expedition, which ſo highly ſatisfied them that the Preſident congratulated him upon the ſcore of his happy return, and in the name of the whole Aſſembly thanked him for the extraordinary pains and fatigues he had undergone for the ſafety of the Republic.

The Campaign being thus finiſhed, all the world was in great hopes that a Peace wou'd be ſoon concluded; but as it is a much eaſier matter to kindle a fire than to extinguiſh it, a Peace like this, where ſo many different intereſts and parties demanded to be ſatisfied, was not to be ſo ſpeedily concluded, as thoſe perſons who impatiently wiſhed for it, did imagine. The very preliminaries of this numerous Aſſembly at *Nimeguen* cou'd not be regulated in the compaſs of one winter; and notwithſtanding all the inſtances and application of the King of *Great Britain*, thoſe that reaſoned ſolidly, ſaw well enough that the Peace was in no great readineſs. Nor were their conjectures vain, for no ſooner was the year 1677 begun, but tho it was the depth of winter, the *French* marched directly into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; ſo that in a ſhort time all the places about *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and *St. Omers*, were covered with the Enemies Troops; and theſe three Cities were in a manner blocked up at a diſtance: The *French* openly boaſting, that they wou'd make themſelves Maſters of two important places before the *Spaniards* were in a condition to take the Field. * *Valenciennes* was the firſt place that was inveſted, with a Army of 50 or 60 thouſand men, under

* A great and ſtately City upon the *Scheld*, built, as 'tis commonly pretended, by the Emperour *Valentinian*.

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the command of the Duke of *Luxemburg* and the Count *de Montal*: and four days after the King himſelf arrived in perſon in the Camp. There was in the City a Garriſon of 2000 *Spaniſh*, *Walloon* and *Italian* Foot, with about 1000 Horſe and Dragoons, commanded by the Marquis *de Risburg*, Brother to Prince *d' Epinoy*

The King after his arrival view'd the poſts, gave orders for the Trenches to be opened, and ſet up Batteries. In fine the ſiege was ſo vigorouſly puſhed on in a few days, that the *French* were advanced as far as the Glacis of the Counterſcrap, and a Horn work, that was one of the beſt defences the City had. But the King, not being willing to loſe time in taking all the Out-works regularly, order'd an Aſſault to be made on the Horn-work, in four different places, all at once, by eight in the morning; and to facilitate this enterprize, alarmed the Beſieged all the night with throwing of Bombs, Granadoes, and Carcaſſes, which had the deſired effect: For after a ſhort diſpute the *French* enter'd the Town, loſing no more in this expedition than only Count *de Barlemont*, a Collonel of the Regiment of *Picardy*, three Muſqueteers, ſix Granadiers, and ſome Souldiers.

The King having thus carried *Valenciennes*, ſate down before *Cambray*, with part of his Army, commanded by the Duke of *Luxemburg*; and order'd the Mareſchal *d' Humieres* to inveſt *St. Omers* with another part. *Cam-*

Bray is one of the oldeſt Cities in the *Low Countries*, built ever ſince the time of *Servius Hoſtilius*, but the Caſtle was built by *Charles* the Fifth, upon which account the *Spaniards* took great care to preſerve it. There were in Garriſon fourteen hundred Horſe, four Regiments of Foot, beſides two Companies of old *Spaniſh* Souldiers, under the command of *Don Pedro de Laval* the Governour. The Cathedral was in ſo great veneration for the beauty of the ſtructure, that the Canons came out of the Town, and preſented a Petition to the King, wherein they requeſted him not to fire at the Church, which he freely granted. The lines of Circumvallation were no ſooner finiſhed, but the King commanded an Aſſault to be made on the two Half-moons on the Caſtle ſide, which the *French* having ſoon made themſelves Maſters of, they immediately began to undermine the Ramparts; this put the Beſieged into ſuch a conſternation that they deſired to Capitulate, and ſurrendred the Town on very honourable Conditions.

But tho the Town was loſt, the Caſtle held out ſtill; for the Governour taking advantage of the Ceſſation of Arms, gave orders in the mean time to have ſome Cannon and other neceſſary proviſions got ready, commanded all the Horſes to be ſlain, only reſerving ten for each Company, and thus retired into the Caſtle with all his Souldiers, before the *French* had the leaſt ſuſpicion of it;

it; being reſolved to ſell the Caſtle dearer than he had done the City. The King was obliged to ceaſe for ſome time, not only becauſe the *French* Pioneers were repulſed by the Beſieged in a Sally they had made to prevent their approach; but alſo becauſe he was informed that the Prince of *Orange* was marching to the relief of *St. Omers*: he ſent the Duke of *Luxemburg* with a great part of his Army, to reinforce his Brother the Duke of *Orleance*, who had ſet Siege to that City, and had already finiſhed his Batteries.

For the news of the great ſucceſs which the *French* King had at *Valenciennes* and *Cambray*, and the Siege of *St. Omers* had ſo mightily alarmed the United Provinces, that the Prince of *Orange* was forced to take the Field, before the reſt of the Confederates were ready to joyn him. He aſſigned *Ipres* for the general Rendezvous of his Army, which was compoſed of *Dutch*, and ſome other Troops drawn out of the *Spaniſh* Garriſons, and began his March on the 7th of *April*, and on the 9th arrived at St. *Mary Capel*, where he was informed that the D. of *Orleans* lay encamped on the great road to St. *Omers*, and had only left a few Regiments in the Trenches to keep the City blocked up. The ſtraitneſs of the ways, which he was to paſs, made his March very tedious, ſo that after he had marched all the next day, he advanced no farther than a ſmall River called *Pene*, on the other ſide of which he perceived

the Enemy drawn up in battle. The Prince having conſulted his Guides, and thoſe that knew the Country, they all aſſured him that there was no other paſſage than this to go to *Bacq*, which they looked upon to be the only place by which St. *Omers* might be reliev'd: Upon this conſideration he reſolved to paſs the River, and ſet upon the Enemy; and having ordered ſome new Bridges to be made, and repaired thoſe that the *French* had broke down, he accordingly paſſed it on the 11th of *April* by break of day, ſo that all were got over before the Enemy was aware of them. But when he had paſſed it with his Troops he was very much ſurprized to find that there was another River ſtill between the *French* and him, encumbred with Trees and Hedges, altho thoſe that were acquainted with the Country had aſſured him of the contrary, ſo that he found himſelf ſtrangely embaraſs'd, as not having in the leaſt expecteed this ſecond Obſtacle. But this did not hinder him from making himſelf Maſter of the Abby *de Pienes*; but in the mean time the Enemy having received a reinforcement of fifteen Thouſand men came to attack the Abby, where the Prince's Dragoons were poſted, who being ſupported by ſome Regiments of Foot, received them ſo warmly that they were forced to retire. After this the Prince ſet fire to the Abby leaſt the Enemy ſhould poſt themſelves there. At the ſame time the *French* advanced ſlowly with

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the right Wing of their Army, to charge the Prince's left Wing in the Flank, which was covered with abundance of Hedges, where were likewiſe poſted two Battalions. The Prince perceiving that the Enemy had received ſome new recruits on that ſide, ſent three freſh Battalions to ſupport his own, as likewiſe to guard the plain that was behind the Hedges. But the two firſt Regiments baſely quitted their Poſt upon the firſt approach of the Enemy, ſo that the other three Regiments that were ſent to their aſſiſtance, having not ſufficient time to adjuſt themſelves, and ſeeing the two firſt Battalions run away, betook themſelves to their Heels, and breaking into their own Squadrons that ſtood there to cover them, occaſioned an extraordinary confuſion. Upon this the *French* Cavalry coming to advance, and being ſupported by the Infantry that made perpetual firing, the Prince's Squadrons were beaten back, but they did not go far, and ſoon rallied again, and poured ſo vigorouſly upon the *French* that they made them fly, in their their turn. In the mean time the Enemy's Foot being advanced above, and having poſſeſſed the Hedges, where the Prince's men were poſted before, they cou'd not poſſibly make a long reſiſtance, nor hinder the reſt of the Foot from being attacked in the Flank as well as the Front. So that the Foot, after they had done their duty extremely well, ſaw themſelves obliged to quit their poſt; and the

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Prince repaſſing the Rivet, retir'd in very good order to *Steenword*, and from thence to *Poperdingue*; the Enemy having been ſo rudely handled by Count *Waldeck*, who commanded the Prince's Right Wing, that they had no deſire to purſue him. And this was the iſſue of the battel at *Mont caſſel*.

The Prince having retired in this manner as we have related it, the *French* King purſued the Siege of the Cittadel of *Cambray* with all imaginable vigor, and it fell out very unfortunately for the beſieged, that a Bomb ſet fire on one of their Magazines, where the Granadoes and other warlike Proviſions lay, and utterly conſumed it. However the beſieged continued to defend themſelves bravely, and recompenced their loſs in ſome manner by the death of the Marqueſs *de Renel*, one of the *French* King's Lieutenant Generals, who was ſlain by a Cannon-ſhot from the Caſtle. But at laſt the *French* having made ſeveral breaches, and the Governour of the Cittadel being wounded, they were conſtrained to yield to the great number, and continual attacks of the Enemy, and to ſurrender the Caſtle, which was done on very honorable conditions.

To return to the Duke of *Orleans*, altho victorious, he was ſo afraid, leſt the Prince ſhould once more attempt to throw relief into S^t, *Omers*, that he durſt not quit the field where the battle was fought, but kept himſelf upon his guard for eight days ſucceſſively.

ſively. But when he received the News that his Highneſs had paſſed the Canal of *Ghent* with all his Forces, he returned before the Town, which he beſieged with his whole Army, and after a gallant reſiſtance, which coſt him ſeveral of his beſt Officers, they were forced, againſt their will, to ſurrender upon good terms.

After the taking of theſe places, the *French* heat began to be ſomewhat abated, and thoſe that were ſo forward to attack others, were now content to act on the defenſive all the reſt of the Summer, and durſt never put it to the hazard of a battle, altho it was often preſented to them. So that after ſeveral tedious marches and counter-marches on both ſides, and the Confederates ineffectual laying Siege to *Charleroy*, which for ſeveral weighty conſiderations they thought expedient to raiſe, the Prince returned to the *Hague*, being accompanied by the Earl of *Oſſory*, Don *Carlos*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality. After he had given the States General an account of the laſt Campaign, with the reaſons that obliged him to raiſe the Siege of *Charleroy*, and not to attack the Enemy, who were not only ſuperior to him in number, but poſted to the greateſt advantage: Their High and Mightineſſes thanked him for his conduct and indefatigable pains, humbly beſeeching him ſtill to continue his zeal for the public Intereſt.

A little after his return to the *Hague*, ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Nobility arrived at the Prince's Court who in an Aſſembly of the States General gave them to underſtand, that his Unkle the King of *Great Britain*, earneſtly * deſired him to make a Voyage into *England*, in hopes that his preſence there would not a little contribute to the Peace then in agitation, which would be of ſuch mighty advantage to the Republic. Thus his Highneſs took his leave of the States, and of all the Colledges on the 17th of *October*, and being accompany'd by the Earl of *Oſſory*, Monſieur *d' Odyk*, the Count *de Naſſau*, and ſeveral other perſons of condition, he embarqued at *Hellevoetſluys*, in one of his Majeſties Yatchs, and arrived at *Harwich* on the 19th about ten in the morning, where the Duke of *Albemarle*, and the Maſter of the Ceremonies attended him in the King's Coaches, and conducted him the ſame evening to the King and his Royal Highneſs, at *Ipſwich*, who received him with all the teſtimonies of a particular kindneſs and affection. On the 23d he arrived with the two Royal Brothers at *Whitehall*, and was lodged in the Duke of *York*'s apartment, who retired to St. *James*'s.

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* Sir *W. Temple* in his Memoirs repreſents this matter otherwiſe, for there we are told that K. *Ch.* the 2d. was ſo far from courting the Prince to come to viſit him, that he was apprehenſive of his arrival.

What

What was at firſt nothing but a bare ſurmize, was ſoon after confirmed by the King himſelf: For on the firſt of *November*, his Majeſty acquainted the Council with his deſign to marry the Prince of *Orange* to his Royal Highneſs's eldeſt Daughter, declaring that he hoped this Alliance would facilitate the accompliſhment of a General Peace, which his Majeſty was reſolved to advance as far as the Intereſt of his Kingdoms did engage him. After this the whole Council went in a body to compliment the Princeſs, and afterwards the Prince; the reſt of the Nobility did the ſame after their example.

The Prince of *Orange* acquainted the States with it by an Expreſs, giving them to underſtand, that after he had maturely weigh'd the reaſons which might incline him to marry, he thought he could not make a better choice than the Princeſs *Mary*; that he had already demanded her in Marriage of the King, and his Royal Highneſs her Father, who immediately gave their conſent: that he judged it adviſable to inform them of it, expecting their approbation of the Match with all ſpeed, that he might the ſooner repair to them for the ſervice of his Country.

Hereupon the States General were aſſembled, and ſeriouſly conſidering the reaſons of State upon which this Marriage was founded, with the great advantages it might produce; as for inſtance, a confirmation of

that

that ſtrict Union that was between the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of the *United Provinces*; the eſtabliſhment of the ancient Houſe of *Orange*, and the concluſion of the Peace, ſo earneſtly deſired: I ſay, after they had ſeriouſly conſidered all this, but eſpecially the happy choice his Highneſs had made of a Princeſs, who beſides her natural ſweetneſs, poſſeſſed all the virtues that a Husband could deſire, teſtified their approbation by a public Edict, in terms full of joy and ſatisfaction, declaring moreover the mighty eſteem they had of ſo glorious an Alliance, and their ſincere reſolution to cultivate the ancient Friendſhip and good Correſpondence which had always been, and was between his *Britanic* Majeſty and them.

This anſwer arriving at *London* on the 14th of *November*, which was his Highneſs's Birth-day, the Marriage was celebrated at eleven at night, but with ſo little noiſe, that the People knew nothing of it till the next morning, when they gave all public teſtimonies of their joy by Ringing of Bells, and Bone-fires. But amidſt all this rejoycing and feaſting, the Prince knowing how neceſſary his preſence was in *Holland*, made all poſſible expedition to arrive thither. He parted from *London* on the 29th of *November* with his Princeſs, and landed at *Terheyde*, from whence he went to *Hounſlaerdyk*, where they tarried ſome time, till they made their public Entry into the *Hague*, which was a few

few days after performed with extraordinary Magnificence. But I paſs all theſe ceremonies over in ſilence, in order to come to matters of greater importance.

Towards the beginning of the year 1678, tho it was the midſt of Winter, the *French* King made ſuch mighty preparations of War, that all *Europe* was alarmed at them, but particularly *Holland* and the Confederates. This made the King of *Great Britain* ſend the Earl of *Feverſham* to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty with a project of Peace, by which *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, S^t. *Guillain*, and ſome other Towns were to be ſurrendred to the *Spaniards*, and the King of *France* to keep all the *Franche-Comte* in his poſſeſſion, but he would not hearken to it; and as for the King of *England* he was as unwilling to abate any thing in his propoſitions. Which obliged his *Britannic* Majeſty to ſent orders to my Lord *Hyde* his Ambaſſador at *Nimeguen*, to make a ſtrict alliance with the States-General; which being concluded, he diſpatched My Lord *Montague* into *France* to preſs the King to accept his terms, and gave out Commiſſions at the ſame time for raiſing an Army; but the *French* King rejected theſe conditions of Peace, and made great proviſions for the war on all ſides but eſpecially in his new acquiſitions in the *Low Countries*. Upon which the King of *England* recalled the Troops he had in the ſervice of

France,

France, which beſides their other ill treatment were ſent home without their pay.

The King of *Great Britain* held firm to his reſolution, and ſummoning a Parliament, communicated to them the late alliance he had made with *Holland*, for the public benefit and repoſe of *Chriſtendom*, proteſting he was reſolved to force the *French* King to a Peace, and therefore deſired them to furniſh him with a ſumm of Money neceſſary for ſuch a deſign. The Lower Houſe thanked his Majeſty for the great care he took of the Proteſtant Religion, in marrying his Niece to a Proteſtant Prince, beſeeching him not to conſent to any conditions of Peace with *France*, unleſs they were better than thoſe at the *Pyrenean* Treaty. To which the King having conſented, the Commons after a long deliberation reſolved to equip a Fleet of Fourſcore and ten Men of War, and to raiſe an Army of 29870 Land Men, and nominated Commiſſioners to compute the expence.

Whilſt theſe things lay under debate, the *French* King who was ſenſible what deſigns the Confederates were forming againſt him, reſolved to render them all ineffectual, by being before hand with them. For this effect he left *Paris* on the 7th of *February*, and marching by the ſide of *Mets*, entred *Flanders*, no one being able to determine where the ſtorm would fall. All the World was of opinion that the deſign was upon *Mons*, or *Namur*,

Namur, or ſome other place of like importance; and *Ghent* which never expected to be attack'd, had ſo weakned its Garriſon by drawing out their men, and diſtributing them in other places, that the *French* King, who knew this very well, ſate down before it on the 1ſt of *March* with an Army of Threeſcore or Fourſcore Thouſand men. It was impoſſible for a City of ſo large a compaſs, which had not above four or five Hundred Soldiers in Garriſon, beſides the Inhabitants, to defend themſelves long againſt a vain-glorious Prince, who valued the taking of a Half-moon more than the loſs of a Thouſand men; and who by his aſſaults and batteries had extreamly weaken'd it. So *Ghent* was forced to ſurrender nine days after it was beſieged, from thence the Enemy came before *Ipres*, but that City being much ſtronger than *Ghent*, and beſides furniſhed with a better Garriſon, the Beſiegers met ſo warm an oppoſition there, and loſt ſo many Officers and Soldiers before they took it, that the King put the greateſt part of his Army immediately into Garriſon, and returned to *Paris*: whether he thought his Army ſufficiently harraſs'd by theſe two Sieges, or whether he thought he had humbled his Enemies enough to incline them now to accept his own propoſals of a Peace, or laſtly, whether he was afraid of the *Engliſh*, who had ſent conſiderable Forces into *Flanders*.

For about this time the D. of *Monmouth* was arrived at *Bruges* with three thouſand Horſe and Foot, which the K. of *Great Britain* had ſent to re-inforce the Prince of *Orange*'s Army; and the Parliament was ſo earneſtly bent to purſue the War againſt *France*, that they petitioned the King to declare open War againſt it, promiſing to ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes, and to furniſh him from time to time with ſufficient ſumms to carry on ſo generous an undertaking.

In the mean time all the world was aſtoniſhed to hear that the *French* King had intirely abandon'd *Meſſina* and all *Sicily*. The more able Politicians imagined that now there were no hopes of a Peace, ſince this Prince had abandon'd his Conqueſts in *Italy*, as he had lately done thoſe in *Holland*, for no other end but that he might the better compaſs his deſigns upon *Spain* and the Empire. But others ſaid, it was an infallible ſign he was not ſo ſtrong as he pretended to be, and that what he had done, was rather out of meer neceſſity, than for any other end. However it was, the Parliament of *England* were of belief that *France* was reſolved to continue the War in *Germany* and the *Low Countries*; and therefore to ſtop his Career granted his Majeſty a Poll-bill, and by the ſame Act prohibited the Importation of all *French* commodities. King *Charles*, who was deſirous to enter into a League with the

the Empire, *Spain*, and the United Provinces, would oblige them to make the ſame prohibition in relation to *French* goods, in their own reſpective Dominions. But while the *Hollanders* were demurring upon the laſt point, believing that ſuch a prohibition would ruine their trade, an unexpected accident fell out that changed the whole face of affairs.

The King of *France*, after his return to *Paris* ſeeing his *Britannic* Majeſty was reſolved to ſupport the Intereſts of his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, particularly ſince his Voyage into *England*, and his Marriage with his Niece, formed of himſelf a project of Peace, which he ſent to his Ambaſſador at *Nimeguen*, there to be diſtributed amongſt the other Ambaſſadors and Mediators by thoſe of *England*. The chief of theſe propoſitions were, That the King of *Sweden* and the Duke of *Gottorp* ſhould be intirely ſatisfied. That the Prince and Biſhop of *Stasburg* ſhould be reſtored to all his Demains, Goods, Honours and Prerogatives; and that his Brother Prince *William* of *Furſtemberg*, ſhould be ſet at liberty. That as for the Emperour, he ſhould alter nothing in the public Declarations that were made at the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*; only he offer'd either to keep *Philipsburg* and give up *Friburg*, or elſe to keep *Friburg*, and give up *Philipsburg*. That as for *Spain*, he would reſtore *Charleroy*, *Ath*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Ghent*, and St. *Guil-*

lain with their dependances, but in recompence demanded all the *Franche Comté*, *Valenciennes*, *Bouchain*, *Condè*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, and St. *Omers*, with all their dependances. In a word all the Places he was in poſſeſſion off, except thoſe above mentioned. Beſides he conſented to ſurrender *Charlemont*, or *Dinant*, to the Catholic King, provided the Biſhop of *Leige* and the Emperor agreed to it.

That as for what concerned the States General, beſides the ſatisfaction he gave them by what he yielded up to *Spain*, he wou'd reſtore *Maeſtricht* to them, and continue the ſame treaty of Commerce they enjoy'd before: And as for the Intereſts of the Duke of *Lorrain*, he was willing to re-eſtabliſh him, according to the *Pirenean* Treaty, or to ſurrender all his Territories to him except the City of *Nancy*, but that by way of recompence he would give him *Toul*, reſerving nevertheleſs to himſelf a paſſage from his Frontiers into *Alſatia*, and the Roads that would be neceſſary to him, from *France* to *Nancy*, and from *Nancy* to *Mets*, *Briſac*, and the *Franche-Comte*.

That the Confines between *Spain* and the *Low-Countries*, to begin from the Sea, ſhould be the *Meuſe*, *Nieuport*, *Dixmuyde*, *Courtray*, *Oudenard*, *Aeth*, *Mons*, *Charleroy*, and *Namur*, and that theſe Confines ſhould be ſecured by theſe Places, ſince they had coſt him ſome Millions to fortify, and by quitting them he deprived himſelf of the advantage of marching

ing up to the Gates of *Bruſſels* whenever he pleaſed.

Theſe Conditions were liked by ſome, but diſapproved by others. The States General for inſtance had no reaſon to reject them, but the Miniſters of the Allies, in a conference at the *Hague*, abſolutely rejected them as unjuſt and unreaſonable. After ſeveral warm diſputes upon this occaſion the *Spaniards* began at laſt to comply, and that the more becauſe they ſaw both *England* and *Holland* conſented to the propoſals of *France*. Beſides this, their Affairs grew every day worſe and worſe, by the conſiderable loſs of Fort *Leeuw*, which was much about this time unfortunately ſurprized by the *French*. But what ſerved wholly to determine them, was the return of the *French* King, who beſides an Army he had near *Bruſſels*, had two more not far off, one upon the *Rhine*, and the other between the *Meuſe* and the *Sambre*, which threatned nothing leſs than the entire loſs of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, in caſe the *Hollanders* made a Peace without them, and continued Neuters after it, during the courſe of this war; to which the King of *France* earneſtly perſwaded them.

The *Spaniards* therefore being conſtrained to yield to the neceſſity of their Affairs, declared they were ready to accept theſe Conditions of Peace. Upon which the States General were very urgent with the other

Allies to give their conſent; and upon the delay of the Miniſters who amuſed themſelves with making Memorials and Replies, diſpatched expreſs Orders to their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* to conclude the Treaty out of hand. But they were extreamly ſurprized when the Plenipotentiares of *France* refuſed to ſign it, for they demanded that intire ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the King of *Sweden*, proteſting that in caſe of refuſal, the King their maſter would conclude nothing. This ſtarted new difficulties, and gave occaſion to the States General to make freſh complaints of the procedure of the King of *France*, after they had ſo frankly ſubmitted to the Conditions which he himſelf had propoſed. That King's anſwer was, that he ſhould come to St. *Quintin*, where he wou'd tarry ſix days for the Commiſſioners whom they ſhould ſend to adjuſt this difference. But the States thinking they had done enough on their part, reſolved in the preſence of the Prince of *Orange* to ſend no body till the Treaty was ſigned.

The News of this difference, and of the reſolution of the *Hollanders* to continue the war, unleſs the King of *France* would ſomewhat abate the intereſts of *Sweden*, being arrived into *England*, the Parliament who before had voted to disband the Army, which the King had raiſed both by Sea and Land, were now reſolved to keep it on foot. His Majeſty ſent part of the Army over to *Flanders*,

ders, and made a League offenſive and defenſive with the *United Provinces*; wherein a very ſhort time was limited for the *French* King to ſign the Treaty, or declare his further pretenſions. This reſolute conduct of the King of *Great Britain* put an end to this troubleſome affair, ſo the Treaty of Peace between *France* and *Holland* was ſigned on the 11th of *Auguſt*, at midnight. 'Tis certain the *French* King had done better not to have refined ſo much in his Politics, for it had like to have coſt him the entire loſs of the D. of *Luxemburg*'s Army.

Mons had been a long time blocked up by the *French*, and was now in a manner reduced to the laſt extremities, when the Prince of *Orange* receiving advice that the Confederates had joined the Army of *Spain* and *Holland*, which was near the Canal of *Bruſſels*, he parted by night from the *Hague* on the 26 of *July*. Immediately after his arrival he call'd a Council of War, with the Generals of the Allies, where it was reſolved that they ſhould decamp and purſue the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who marched by *Mons* with a deſign to hinder any relief from being put into the Town.

Thus reſolved, the Prince parted with the whole Army at the beginning of *Auguſt*, and no ſooner had he left *Bruſſels*, but General *Spaen* joyned him with a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*.

The *French* who had reſted ſome days at *Soignes*, hearing of the Prince of *Orange*'s March, ſuddenly decamped, and the Confederate Army encamped in the very ſame place where the Enemy had been the day before. His Highneſs marching from thence, on the ſide of *Roeles*, advanced with his left Wing as far as the Abby of St. *Denys*, where the Duke of *Luxemburg* had his quarter. And as this poſt was in a manner inacceſſible, by reaſon of the Woods, the Briars and Precipices it was encompaſs'd with, the Duke ſo little dreamt of being attack'd, that he was at dinner when they brought him word, that the Prince of *Orange* was coming to ſurprize him, and ſo he was forced to retire in ſome diſorder. The Prince had *Caſtrau* before his right Wing, which the Duke had gained in great precipitation, and it was happy for him that this place was as hard to be got to, as the other he quitted. In the mean time his Highneſs, whom theſe difficulties did not diſcourage, had no ſooner drawn out his Army to battel, but he was reſolved to beat the Enemy out of his new poſt, and ſending for his Artillery ordered it to play upon the *French*, who were poſted a little higher on one ſide of a Cloiſter near St. *Denys*, which the Duke of *Luxemburg* thought he might defend well enough with his Cannon. But it was impoſſible for them to ſuſtain the ſhock of the Confederate Dragoons, who beat them from this

Poſt,

Poſt, and made themſelves Maſters of the Cloiſter, while General *Collier*, advanced on the ſide of the Abby, and ſeconded by General *Delwick*, broke through the narrow ways, and mounting theſe horrible precipices with an invincible courage, routed the Enemiy who for ſome time made a vigorous reſiſtance in their lines. In the midſt of this engagement the Prince accompanied by the Duke of *Monmouth*, who fought by his ſide all the day, and encouraged with his good ſucceſs, cried out, *follow me, follow me*, to encourage thoſe Regimens that were to ſecond the firſt. Both ſides were very liberal of their Powder and Ball, and all the Regiments of the left Wing ſeconded one another till night with the ſame vigour and reſolution. Count *Horn* on his ſide approached nearer with his Cannon, and ordered it to play on the *French* Battalions in the Valley, where he cauſed a terrible ſlaughter.

From thence his Highneſs advanced with ſpeed to *Caſtrau*, which was attack'd by the *Spaniards* on the ſide of the right Wing, where the Prince's Regiment of Guards led the Van, under the command of Count *Solmes*, who being ſeconded by the Duke of *Holſtein*'s Regiment, and by the *Engliſh*, forced the Enemies at laſt to quit the place The Regiment of Foot Guards continued in action with the *French* for the ſpace of five hours, and purſued them a quarter of a League through fields and precipices.

cipices. 'Tis certainly a thing hardly to be believ'd, that men should be capable of making such brave efforts in places so extremely disadvantageous, and several persons who have viewed and examined them since, say there are few places in the world naturally so strong.

The Earl of *Ossory* did wonders with his *English* at a small distance from the Foot Guards, where the *French* lost abundance of Men. But the Prince in the heat of the Action advanced so far that he was in great danger of being lost, had not *Monsieur Ouwerkerk* come seasonably to his relief, and killed an adventurous Captain that was just going to let fly a Pistol at him. The Cavalry did nothing all this while by reason of the uneven scituation of the place, so that all the execution lay upon the Infantry and Dragoons. Night put an end to the dispute, by the favour of which the Duke of *Luxemburg* made his retreat without noise, and retired towards *Mons*, and covered himself with a Wood on one side, and a River on the other, leaving to his Highness as marks of Victory, the Field where the Battle was fought, the greatest part of the wounded, abundance of Tents and Baggage, with a world of Powder, and other Warlike Ammunition.

The States General receiving the News of so great a Success, sent Commissioners to the Prince to congratulate him for the victory he had gained with so much Glory and Reputation,

ration, and for the ſignal Actions by him performed in this laſt Battle to the great hazard of his life. And to teſtify what a value they ſet upon his preſervation, they preſented Monſieur *Onwerkerk* who had ſo generouſly oppoſed himſelf to the danger that threatned his Highneſs, with a Sword, whoſe handle was of maſſy gold, a pair of Piſtols ſet with gold, and a whole Horſe Furniture of the ſame metal.

The Prince of *Orange* having thus obliged the Duke of *Luxemburg* to retire, had without queſtion puſhed his point, and thrown relief into the Town, but as he was conſulting how to effect it, word was brought him that the King of *France*, and the States General had accommodated all differences. The ſucceſs of this Battle haſten'd the concluſion of the Treaty between *Spain* and *France*, which was ſigned on the 17th of *September*, to the great praiſe of the King of *England*; who having joyn'd the terrour of his Arms to the authority of his Mediation, had for his recompence the ſatisfaction to ſee the peace and general welfare of *Europe* given as a Portion with his Neice, while the two great Alliances between *France* and *Holland*, and between *Spain* and *France*, were the and happy effects of the conjugal Alliance between his Highneſs and the Princeſs *Mary* of *England*.

The war being thus ended between *France* and the United Provinces, his Highneſs had time

time now to breath himſelf after the fatigues and hurries of the laſt Campaigns: for after the Ratification of the Peace, and the Reſtitution of *Maeſtricht* to the States, the King of *France* no more diſturbed the *Low Countries* with the terrour of his Arms, ſo that when his Highneſs had reformed all thoſe innovations that had been introduced by the *French* when they were Maſters of the Country, the people began to enjoy the repoſe and tranquillity they had ſo long deſired.

But matters were not ſo ſoon adjuſted between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. By the Treaty concluded between the two Crowns, it was agreed that Commiſſioners ſhould meet at *Cambray* to regulate any diſputes that might happen about the limits: This was in the Year 1679. But after ſeveral tedious conteſts occaſioned by the exceſſive pretentions of the *French*, who demanded whole Provinces in the nature of dependances, to be delivered into their hands, the war was like to have kindled afreſh, till at laſt by the unwearied Mediation of the States General a Treaty was ſigned at the *Hague* on the 29th of *June* 1684, after which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty having accommodated all differences with the Emperour, by ſome other Articles of the ſame Nature, a Truce of twenty years was agreed upon: which being ratified, tho not without ſome delays on the ſide of the *Spaniards*, all thoſe devaſtations and ravages that for the courſe of ſeveral

years

years had ruin'd the fineſt Country in *Europe*, began to ceaſe.

In the midſt of all theſe negotiations, which the States ſeldom or never treated of, but in the preſence of the Prince of *Orange*, whom they ſtill conſulted in the moſt difficult affairs, his Highneſs ſhow'd an extraordinary generoſity; for when every one was minding his particular Intereſts, he neglected his own, and preferr'd the peace and welfare of his Country, to that reparation he might juſtly expect for the great loſſes he ſuſtain'd in his own Demains. For while the King of *France* burnt and ravaged the *Low Countries*, in order to force the *Spaniards* to accept his offers, a great part of the Prince's patrimony in *Brabant* underwent the common calamities. The ſame thing happen'd when *Luxemburg* and the *Franche Comte* came to change their Maſters; Prince *d' Iſenguyn*, ſupported by the authority of *France*, expoſed to Sale by ſound of Trumpet all the Lands, Furniture and Goods of his Highneſs, as having been adjudged to him by a formal Decree of the Parliament of that Country. The Provinces of *Gueldres*, *Zealand* and *Utrecht*, made great complaints in his Highneſſes name, but were not able to get ſatisfaction done him. Nor ſuffer'd he leſs injuſtice in the Principality of *Orange*, where the Walls of his Capital City were demoliſhed, the Univerſity disfranchized, the Inhabitants barbarouſly plundered, forced

to

to ſend the young Students home to their Parents, and forbidden to educate any of the Reformed Religion for the future; all which was directly contrary to the Faith of the late Treaty. But when the States repreſented the great injuſtice of this procedure, the Court of *France* return'd them no other anſwer ſave only this, *viz.* That they had good reaſons for what they did.

As ſoon as the Truce was confirmed, the States were of opinion they might now disband their ſupernumerary forces, and the Deputies of *Amſterdam* wou'd without any further delay reform the recruits they had made the year before; but all the members coming to this concluſion, that nothing ought to be done without the advice of the Prince of *Orange*; his Highneſs, upon the mention of this propoſal, aſſured them that no one more earneſtly deſired the eaſe of the people than himſelf; but however he wou'd never conſent, till their affairs both at home and abroad were in a better poſture of ſecurity, to leave the Country naked and defenceleſs. The States were ſoon perſwaded to follow this advice, and accordingly reſolved to keep their Troops as long as the neceſſity of their affairs demanded it.

And now from the concluſion of the Peace till the year 1688, when his Highneſs made his wonderful Expedition into *England*, we have nothing remarkable in this Prince's Hiſtory. What was the ſucceſs of that prodi-

gious

gious Deſcent, and by what means the enſuing Revolution was carried on, which has occaſioned ſo mighty an alteration in this Weſtern part of the World, as it is ſufficiently known to every *Engliſh* Reader, So a juſt narration of all the ſurprizing incidents requires a perſon of more leiſure and greater abilities than my ſelf.

FINIS.